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WOMEN IN NATIONAL POLITICS

Record of Women's Committee
National Hughes Alliance
1916

WOMEN

IN

NATIONAL POLITICS

WOMEN'S COMMITTEE
NATIONAL HUGHES ALLIANCE
ROOM 705,
35 W. 39TH ST., NEW YORK
1916

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Foreword

THE Women's Committee of the Hughes Alliance is publishing a report of its work in the recent campaign because it believes that its many thousands of contributors, workers and members should know what was done and how it was done. We believe that the work of this Committee has a message for women in future American political campaigns.

There is a second reason for this report. The deliberate misrepresentation concerning the women's work has grown to such proportions that we believe the public is entitled to the facts regarding the women's campaign in general and the women's campaign train in particular. The women's movement in national politics has come to stay. This report covers something of its manner of coming and may have a message for those interested in the manner of its staying.

Women in the Campaign

The Republican and Progressive Conventions held in Chicago in June carried one clear message to all voters alike—that this was to be no ordinary campaign, and that it could neither be judged by previous campaigns nor run by old time methods. The situation was a blur through which there must emerge new alignments of men and women, the restoration of old friendships, the creation of new sympathies and the re-establishment of shattered faiths and contracts. In addition the Republicans had chosen a candidate who was unknown to many voters and who needed interpretation.

Some of us thought the restoration of the principles of co-operation, efficiency and fair-play in the Republican campaign more important than any issues which might emerge during the struggle. We thought that the country would base its judgment upon the records and motives of the candidates, and we proposed, concerning Mr. Hughes, to give these to the public in the fullest measure.

There were two objects in the attempt to bring the women of America together nationally behind the Republican candidate. One was to safeguard the splendid service and recognition which women had achieved as the result of the Progressive movement of 1912. Women will long remember that it was the Progressives who asked a woman to second the nomination of a Presidential candidate; who put a woman on the Executive Committee of its National Committee and appointed a woman in charge of its educational work. In the general confusion of 1916, in which Progressive principles were not represented by a distinct organization and candidate, the woman's movement in politics was likely to lose its national significance without some definite conservation movement.

The immediate practical object was to get votes for Mr. Hughes and the women saw two ways in which they could be of service—in attracting and holding the vote of Progressive and independent women, and in interpreting Mr. Hughes's record and personality to the voters of the country. We felt that with or without ballots we were in a position to render service which would help the women voters who did not know the candidate.

In order to accomplish these tasks, we set ourselves another,—a task of complete organization, the results of which will endure in political life long after the immediate fortunes of candidates are forgotten. No women's organization in either of our great national parties has ever been self-created, self-directed and self-supporting; it has never had initiative, power, resources and scope not subject to arbitrary veto by men; it has never been accepted on terms of equality evidenced by participation in policies, plans, counsels, etc. In a considerable measure the women in the Hughes Alliance achieved these ideals, and the general education of political leaders along these lines has been not the least of the women's contribution to the campaign.

If we are to have a sound political life in America and a government representative of all the people, sometime and somewhere these principles of co-operative action must be universally established. The vote alone will not accomplish, indeed has not accomplished this for the voting women of the west. The Women's Committee of the Hughes Alliance laid this foundation so deep, that though it failed in some important respects, it so advanced women's participation in party matters that the party that reckons without them in the coming elections will fail of success. Had the Republican party applied broadly throughout the suffrage states these fundamental principles which were applied in the Hughes Alliance, even the appeal of "peace and prosperity" could not have carried the women's vote against Mr. Hughes. Oregon and Illinois, which, more than any

other suffrage states recognized the equality and representation of women, and had the strongest Hughes Alliances, gave majorities to Mr. Hughes.

We had a clean, sound organization, free from personalities, observant of the truth, scrupulous about facts, and ready to give credit where it was due. Although we published hundreds of thousands of pieces of campaign literature, not one of our statements was ever challenged. We raised no class, sectional or personal issues, and met the allegations of the opposition with candor and forbearance and such facts as the paid hecklers at the meetings of the women's train would permit us to present. When the newspapers have finished ridiculing the women's movement in politics, and have ceased hailing the campaign train as the "golden special" run across the country by rich women for purposes of social diversion, the public will learn that a real contribution has been made to the sound political education of the women of this country. The manner and method of this contribution are related in this report.

General Organization

The Women's Committee of the Hughes Alliance was organized on a temporary basis and for the sole purpose of working for the election of Mr. Hughes. It pledged itself to work for no local candidates. It thus created an organization through which Republicans, Democrats, Progressives, Socialists, everyone who believed in Mr. Hughes could work for him without giving support to any local tickets. Because of this limitation, it could not and never did undertake the organization or direction of the Republican party women's organizations or work, since their activity included both national and local Republican tickets. So early as July 10, the Women's Committee called attention to the fact that the Republican party women were without national representation and were unorganized, and recommended to the candidate and to the Chairman of the Republican National Committee the appointment of a woman's campaign committee to do for the women of the country what was being done for the men. Such a committee was not appointed until September 21. The Women's Bureau started at Chicago about September 2, under the direction of a man failed to satisfy anyone.

The first conference to launch a woman's movement for Mr. Hughes was held on June 13th, three days after the Chicago convention adjourned.

The first question to be settled was whether to have a separate organization of women or to join the Hughes Alliance which had just been revived. It was decided to become the Women's Committee of the Hughes Alliance. Women political leaders have learned that they are still in much the same position as trade unionists —that the rank and file of women can secure individual recognition and equal opportunity to work with men only when they are part of a collective body with power and purpose. The experience of the Hughes campaign only emphasized the wisdom of our choice.

On June 17 a plan of organization and work was submitted to Mr. Hughes and approved, before a chairman of the Republican National Committee had been appointed. The Hughes Alliance authorized the appointment of a women's committee and agreed that women should have representation upon its national executive committee and upon state executive committees.

The Women's Committee retained full control of its work, prepared its own budget and raised its own funds while at the same time establishing a close co-operation with the various phases of the men's work. As an illustration, it contributed one-half of the amount of a number of contributions that were sent to Hughes Alliances in suffrage states, and its "Campaign Service" was furnished to all men's Alliances.

At a conference on July 7, the plan of organization was approved, permanent officers and an executive committee elected and a $100,000 budget was authorized. The Committee opened its headquarters immediately at the Hotel Astor where it

remained until August 4, when it removed to the Republican National Headquarters at 511 Fifth Avenue. It adopted a constitution on July 12. Mrs. Willard Straight made the first contribution of $5,000, enabling the committee to begin its work at once.

The Women's Roosevelt Committee, which was organized before the conventions met in Chicago requested that they be authorized to become the Women's New York City Committee of the New York State Alliance. In order to avoid duplication of work this request was granted, and about July 21 the name of the Committee was changed. The Women's Committee of the National Hughes Alliance agreed to finance this work through the New York State Committee. This agreement was carried out.

On July 7, Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney held a reception for Mr. and Mrs. Hughes at which some 400 women, representing many states had opportunity to discuss with the candidate the questions that interested them most. These women represented active workers in the Hughes Alliance, and this general meeting with the candidate brought them together along the *national* lines that formed the dominant principle of the women's organization.

It was advisable and necessary to adjust our work somewhat to that of the men's alliance. It was agreed that in all non-suffrage states, women's committees should follow, not precede the organization of men's Hughes Alliance branches. The formation of the latter was somewhat delayed in many states. This accounts for the failure of the women's committees to work in certain states. In all suffrage states the women's committee went to work at once, and by July 20 had five organizers in the suffrage states. This number was later increased to eleven. The Women's National Committee also agreed to finance all women's work in the National Hughes Alliance and supported all women's work in New York State, including that of the New York City Committee. In order to co-ordinate the work the Women's Committee asked that women be placed on the Executive Committee of the National Committee and on the State Executive Committee. This was done in many instances. Contribution funds to Hughes Alliance branches in suffrage states were shared with the men's National Committee, as were also all headquarters expenses. All agreements made between the Women's National Committee and the men's Hughes Alliance were carried out. The Women's Committee testifies with the greatest pleasure to the scrupulous fidelity and the consistent co-operation of the head of the National Hughes Alliance.

In accordance with its plan of organization and its budget, the work of the Women's Committee was organized in four departments: administration, research, publicity and finance. This work was handled by a headquarters staff of thirteen persons, besides the requisite clerical force, and 191 branch Hughes Alliances, chiefly in the suffrage states.

Report of Work

Administration

The division of administration included office management, supplies and direction of field work.

The Committee had eleven field organizers of which five devoted their time to the suffrage states. The first field representative was sent out on July 12. They first made an analysis of the political situation in each state as it affected women, and then organized branches of the Hughes Alliance. They placed their services at the disposal of the Republican state chairman, and in some states, like Nevada, worked entirely under his direction. Charters were issued to branch Hughes Alliances, and enrollments were largely in local branches although several thousand women enrolled directly with the National Committee. To the enrolled workers were sent suggestions for work in their districts as well as supplies of literature and buttons. A summary of the daily reports received from field offi-

cers was sent to state and local chairmen throughout the country so that they might know what was going on and receive suggestions from the work in other states.

Much of the time and the energy of the field workers in the early part of the campaign was devoted to finding out in every state where leading Progressives stood, and in bringing together groups of individuals, who while disposed toward Mr. Hughes were, so to speak, without definite organization and a particular candidate in this campaign. In some states the strength, or the habit, of the Republican state organization made it frankly impossible to get independents and Republicans to work together for Hughes. Fearing what seemed to be potentially a rival political organization, "old line" Republicans sometimes opposed the formation of Hughes Alliances. In other states, however, it was not only possible to form them, but both sides welcomed the practical organization scheme thus presented to them by national organizers.

The field workers saw both Republican and Progressive state chairmen and Republican and Progressive National Committeemen. They worked with leading Republicans and Progressives, both men and women, for their one object: the organization of the women's independent vote for Hughes. In starting branches, the organization committee formed by the organizer always represented many groups differing widely in both social and political interests. If there already existed a women's organization which could be strengthened on a broader basis for the campaign, this was done.

This work of local organization was not easy. From almost all the states the organizers reported the same thing—general preoccupation with the state and local tickets and marked lack of interest in the national situation. Local voters and local political organizations urged the organizers to help with state and congressional tickets, to which the national candidate was to be attached by courtesy. The organization work of the National Women's Committee demonstrated clearly and indubitably the real political weakness of this country, an insistent localism and sectionalism, in which the local organizations of the two great national parties have acquiesced. In state after state, men and women organized and worked with energy and spirit for local candidates. For them a vote based upon belief and conviction was cast. In the very same states the vote cast for the national candidate was often sentimental, indifferent, casual, unreasoned. Local squabbles on local issues held up organization on the national issues. Meetings were called nominally for the national candidate. *Actually, his name was sometimes not even mentioned.* It is impossible to pass swiftly over these difficulties in the path of our organizers; for after all they eptomize the fatal lack, not only in this campaign, but in American political life as a whole.

Aside from the work of organization the organizers transmitted much valuable information to the central office; they showed what state issues must in reason be taken into account in any plans made at headquarters; they informed headquarters that apparent sectional preoccupation was often only remoteness, and that if the proper approaches were made, and the proper interest shown by the national organization, there would be no difficulty in arousing interest in the national ticket; they showed what lines of approach from headquarters would most substantially interest hitherto unorganized women and get them to join the national organization for active work along *national* as well as state and local lines.

Post-election reports from a number of states show us that the organizations thus stimulated by the organizers have entered upon the inter-campaign interval with a heightened sense of the value of political organization, and a determination to maintain it along new lines. The fact that politics may be and must be "civics" at its best, has gained some headway as the result of the very difficult task of organization in what was undoubtedly a very difficult campaign.

Research

It is significant that the first piece of work undertaken by the Women's Committee was a piece of research, a careful study of Mr. Hughes's position on labor and important public questions as demonstrated by his acts and opinions during the four years of his governorship. This work was begun in June. And throughout the summer a research bureau was kept busy securing the data used and analyzed in other departments of the campaign.

For the research, a regular force of workers was retained, but these were assisted, in special subjects and studies, by legal experts and distinguished economists. Among the more definite services of the Research Department were: collecting and assisting in verifying the material for the records of Mr. Hughes as governor, which as mentioned elsewhere was recast by the Publicity Department and issued as an 84-page pamphlet; collecting and abstracting laws affecting labor enacted during Mr. Hughes's administration; summarizing his more important Supreme Court decisions; preparing a report on Governor Hughes and agricultural interests and legislation in New York State; reporting especially upon the insurance investigation and legislation in New York State; collecting regularly articles in the current periodicals and in books bearing on the issues of the campaign, and furnishing them to headquarters workers and others, to guide their efforts by showing the state of the public mind on certain questions at various times and in given sections of the country.

To give further direction to the campaign the Research Department made a political analysis of presidential elections to show the historical tendency of the various political parties in the various states. This data, when balanced by information concerning the appeal of the issues of the current campaign in various states and sections, showed where special emphasis should have been placed. It is to be remembered, of course, that the Women's Committee was at no time able to follow out all its convictions and all its judgments. Limited in authority and in resources, it had to forego many opportunities uncovered by its studies.

Speakers' data on Americanization, preparedness, the National Guard, and other important issues was furnished to the Speakers' Bureau of the Publicity Department of the Republican National Committee. A real effort was made by the Women's Committee to make Americanism a dominant issue instead of a mere campaign slogan—curiously enough adopted by both parties. We do not feel that we succeeded. And the reason we did not is perhaps the same reason why the election resulted as it did. Americanism means nationalism—a sense of the country as a whole, and a devotion to it. The election was decided by a great mass of voters who put sectional prosperity above national consciousness, and sometimes state tickets above the national. In expounding Americanism, the Women's Committee had no desire to flay the hyphen. But it did want to present the appeal of nationalism,—Americanism,—in its political logic to the three million or more foreign born voters in this country. It also wanted to show that this country, if Americanism is to prevail, must have a national policy for educating immigrants and preparing them for citizenship. As a part of this object the Research Department prepared for campaign speakers the citizenship statistics of cities throughout the country, giving the native or foreign-born character of the population, percentage of inability to speak English, illiteracy, etc.

The Research Department also undertook an analysis of the Seaman's Law. This was a very careful piece of work, covering a month's research. It showed that the law was not being enforced in certain essential particulars, a charge substantiated by no less a person than Andrew Furuseth in a public statement after election.

One of the most significant pieces of work was the paralleling of Mr. Hughes's and Mr. Wilson's records as governors of their respective states. Very much the same questions relating to immigration, Americanization, labor, the protection of children, unemployment, the protection of savings, were presented to both men as governor and the New York State record presented a marked contrast to that of New Jersey. Mr. Hughes's record as Justice

in many respects paralleled that of the President on such questions as the eight-hour day for working women, child labor, recognition of trade unions, enforcement of pure-food laws, etc. It was news to most people that it was Mr. Hughes who gave the first eight-hour day to trainmen, signalmen and telegraphers; that eleven child-labor laws were passed as against Mr. Wilson's two as governor; and that in all 56 subsequent labor laws, one-third of the whole number of labor laws in the New York statutes, were passed during Hughes's administration.

If more emphasis had been given throughout the campaign to an affirmative statement of what Mr. Hughes stood for as shown by what he did; if there had been less generalizing on the tariff and on Mexico and less criticism of Mr. Wilson, the election returns might have told a different story. Far too many speeches dealt with Republican "principles" not very clearly set forth, and not very efficacious as against "peace and prosperity"; there was too little mention of the candidate's practical record and achievements.

Labor Research.—The importance given to the labor appeal in this campaign by the Democratic claims of virtue based on the so-called eight-hour bill, and the national child-labor bill and by the persistent attempt to make Mr. Hughes appear to be the "Wall Street candidate," the corporation lawyer with interests alien to those of wage earners, made the Women's Committee resolve to present Mr. Hughes's significant record on labor at every opportunity. The Committee spared no effort in doing so. For the whole campaign period they retained a labor expert, a former Commissioner of Labor of New York State, a member of organized labor in good standing. He prepared regularly for the Hughes Campaign Service an accurate statement of Governor Hughes's record on child labor, on workmen's compensation; on the administration of the New York State Labor Department in his Governorship; on improvements in factory inspection, etc., etc. He also analyzed the Danbury Hatters' Case, the Arizona Alien Case and other cases and opinions in which Governor Hughes clearly showed his attitude toward labor. Throughout the latter part of the campaign and in the speeches on the Campaign Train the Committee gave much effort to a clear analysis of the Adamson bill. The Research Department of the Women's Committee co-operated with the other departments in a real effort to place the political fight on the firm and decent ground of real argument and sound appeal. No campaign can flourish without its laboratory.

Publicity

The Publicity Department of the Women's Committee prepared, published and distributed the first literature available in the campaign.

It initiated an important innovation in campaign procedure—the weekly publication of a regular campaign organ. It conducted a foreign language service on an unpretentious scale when it found that this work was not being done elsewhere. It maintained a regular speakers' service in order to co-operate with the Republican National Committee in providing speakers with expert material and arguments; and it conducted a daily information service to collect and clear to the various departments in the Republican campaign headquarters, the news of the campaign throughout the country.

In observing this and previous campaigns the Women's Committee felt (1) that campaign literature was not carefully enough prepared; (2) that the indiscriminate reprinting of long speeches was not effective; (3) that we needed more literature in short concise form dealing with the real arguments of the campaign and the real records of the candidates; (4) that we needed a more careful distribution of material to official workers who could redistribute it to their speakers and others.

The Women's Committee believed that this was a campaign in which *facts* would count. It also realized that certain facts, especially those pertinent to the public record of the candidate were by no means in general circulation. Nor were they to be got together without difficulty. For its

weekly Campaign Service, for its speakers' data, for its press statements and for the refutation of Democratic allegations the Committee wished to clear constantly a *serviceable body of pertinent facts,* collated with the utmost care for veracity, analyzed and interpreted without color. A national campaign, far from being a mere game in which sophistry is met by sophistry, far from being a sword's play of wits, can be an inspiring search for the truth and the best means of making it prevail. We have not attained to this in this country, but there have been promising stirrings on the face of the waters. And we believe that the idealism, and the steady courageous industry of the Women's Committee in searching out the essential facts and presenting them effectively from the middle of last June until November has in it the promise, and the condition, of healthful political life in this country.

Hughes Campaign Service.—The weekly bulletin, a 12-page magazine published during the campaign by the Women's Committee, was entirely new in campaign publicity. The history of it should convince managers of future campaigns of the direct need for a *campaign organ:* (1) to keep distant states and political organizations in touch with the progress of the campaign by giving them weekly the campaign news from all over the country; (2) to furnish speakers, editors and active campaign managers and workers through a regular vehicle with expert material and arguments on the issues and the accurate record of the candidate on important questions; and (3) to furnish good campaign and propaganda material adapted to general readers and independent voters.

The Campaign Service concentrated on the national issues, the proved records of the candidates, and waged its fight on these. It contained no campaign oratory and no campaign vilification. The plan of publication aimed to include in every issue: a part of the candidate's record; the importance of certain of his Supreme Court decisions; a constructive presentation of the deficiencies of the Democratic administration during the last four years, and the fundamental deficiencies in the whole philosophy of the Democratic party; leading articles by a Republican and by a Progressive; arguments and data meeting some point raised by the Democratic Campaign Committee or leaders during the current week; general propaganda material with "punch" and interest.

Thirteen bulletins were published, seven with an issue of 50,000, one with an issue of 35,000 and five with an issue of 25,000. It was sent regularly to National and State Committeemen and delegates to the Convention. Later at the definite request of the Speakers' Bureau of the Republican National Committee it was sent to all speakers, at the expense of the Republican National Committee. Many requests from county chairmen for the Bulletin in considerable numbers for enrolled voters could not be met. During the Maine campaign, the Maine committeemen requested heavy issues of the Bulletin in Maine for the three critical weeks of the Maine campaign. They later wrote that it had helped greatly to turn the tide—or keep it turned—in Maine. Similar requests were met for North Carolina, Wisconsin, Massachusetts. The Bulletin was also distributed regularly to 6,000 daily and weekly publications; to Progressive workers; to Hughes Alliance branches; to Republican Governors, Senators and Congressmen; to the Union League Clubs; to field workers and Republican clubs.

The value of a campaign organ, in the abstract, is shown by the fact that through the Hughes Campaign Service thus regularly issued by the women, the women's organization was in much closer touch with certain of the local Republican organizations and prominent campaign workers than was the Republican National Committee, and sometimes had much more direct channels of information and distribution.

Throughout the summer and fall the heavy daily mail received by the Hughes Campaign Service, containing requests, criticisms, suggestions and contributions, showed it to be a live thing, a real focus in the campaign, and a means of nationalizing the campaign work. Extracts from some of this correspondence are now reprinted in the appendix * of this report as

* See Appendices I & II, pp. 29-34.

testimony to a national campaign need and the means of meeting it.

Other Literature.—The most important of the other publications of the Women's Committee was the *Public Record of Charles Evans Hughes,* issued as a pocket pamphlet of 84 pages, for ready reference for speakers, editors, etc. His whole public record as Governor of New York, his acts, his pronouncements, his memoranda of approval and of veto for the bills presented to him for signature were clearly presented and analyzed. They were not interpreted, for they did not need to be. Twenty thousand copies of this Record were published and distributed by the Women's Committee. The Republican National Committtee republished and distributed it, under its own auspices. The National Hughes Alliance did the same.

The importance of the early Democratic attempts to brand Mr. Hughes as "the Wall Street Candidate," and the enemy of labor in general was early recognized by the Women's Committee. It reprinted the issue of the Legislative Labor News (representing the New York State Federation of Labor) which in 1910 hailed Mr. Hughes upon his withdrawal as the "Great Governor" who, in putting through the legislature fifty-six separate labor laws had proved himself the best friend the New York State working man had ever had.

As the campaign advanced the Democratic National Committee, supported manfully by Mr. Gompers, made increasing capital of the Adamson Bill as evidencing Mr. Wilson's devotion to the interests of the working man. They also circulated a so-called "parallel record" of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hughes on labor. Mr. Hughes' record was presented—or ignored—with a flagrant disregard of truth unusual even in a political campaign. The Women's Committee therefore prepared an accurate and detailed statement of Mr. Hughes's stand on labor evidenced not only in his public record as Governor of New York, but also in his opinions and decisions handed down as Justice of the Supreme Court. The Labor Record was widely distributed and eagerly sought in many parts of the country.

When Mr. Hughes was Governor the social workers of New York State openly hailed him as the soundest and best legislative friend of social welfare interests. But his record in this respect was, naturally enough, little known. The general public does not always learn of the patient, continuous attention to the *detail* of social laws, the steadfast championing of this minor clause or that, which means everything to a group of child workers perhaps, but seems a detail in the general field of administration. This is exactly the kind of service Mr. Hughes rendered to social welfare. One of the workers who knew his record best, the Supervisor of Brooklyn Charities, wrote for the Women's Committee an explicit statement of his record in these respects. Under the title *Hughes and Social Welfare* it was distributed widely.

Later the Women's Committee also issued three short and effective leaflets on the Danbury hatters' case, the Arizona alien case, and the teachers' equal pay bill. The Committee also prepared a practical statement of how women, whether in the suffrage or non-suffrage states, could help in the campaign. Thirty thousand of these were issued. In addition to less important pamphlets published by the Women's Committee, large quantities of the literature issued by the Republican National Committee and the Hughes Alliance were distributed by the women's organization on the Campaign Train.

Daily Press and Magazines.—Information received from the field workers and local and state chairmen of the Hughes Alliance was issued to the press daily and sometimes twice a day through the reporters assigned to cover the political headquarters. In addition to this, seventy formal statements were released by the Women's Committee, besides many interviews and special stories. The object of this publicity was to give accurate information based on direct reports of the Hughes Alliance workers, and to show the interest in campaign organization among women, and the development of it as the weeks went by.

Foreign Language Press Service.—Very early in the campaign the Women's Committee realized that this year more than ever, when Americanization was a

practical issue of the campaign, good publicity material should be issued to the foreign language papers. The Committee therefore submitted to the Republican National Committee and to the men's Hughes Alliance a plan for the handling of this division of the work.

The Republican Committee was very slow in undertaking this and the men's committee of the Hughes Alliance did nothing with it whatever. The Republican Committee seemed to feel that it would increase criticism of their attitude and intensify the popular illusion that they were playing for the German vote. As a matter of fact, there never was a year when foreign language papers needed good political material more than they did this year. They certainly were entitled to the same kind of service that the English papers all over the country were receiving, but it was not given them.

Very early in the summer we prepared quantities of material adapted to the foreign language papers. It was submitted to both the Republican National Committee and the Hughes Alliance, favorably commented upon, but no definite arrangement was made for getting it over. A weekly news service to foreign language papers was therefore begun by the Women's Committee. Other material to the foreign language press was later cleared through the co-operation of the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers.

As a result of its foreign language press work the Women's Committee reached certain clear conclusions which are set forth, for suggestion in future campaigns, in the last section of this report.*

Daily Information Service.—One of the greatest difficulties in any national campaign is to keep the various states and various workers informed as to how the campaign is going, and to keep the central committee also informed. The Republican National Committee and the Campaign Committee frankly said that they could not get information from their local organizations. State and county committeemen do not always take the trouble to report either the conditions of affairs or the process of organization in their communities. The result of the lack of information is: the wrong speakers are sent to important places; literature is sent out indiscriminately instead of on the basis of direct information; most important of all, the sympathies of local workers and local organizations get too far away from the national candidate.

The Women's Committee had an unlimited political clipping service, consisting of from 2,000 to 7,000 clippings daily from all over the country, giving the local political news. These were summarized daily by an expert force, and the summary was issued to Governor Hughes, Chairman Willcox, the Republican Publicity Bureau and other head workers in the Republican National Committee and the Hughes Alliance. It furnished a daily war map for the campaign. Every week it was again summarized by states and published in the Hughes Campaign Service.

Speakers' Bureau.—The Speakers' Bureau of the Women's Committee was organized not to furnish speakers of its own, but to co-operate with the Speakers' Bureau of the Republican National Committee in furnishing campaign speakers with material, with reference to the needs of particular places and audiences. The Bureau also gave special attention to providing women speakers throughout the country with material through the Hughes Alliance. Every speaker on the National Republican Committee's list received as promptly as possible each issue of the Hughes Campaign Service, the Hughes Record, the Labor Record, etc., at the expense of the National Republican Committee.

New York City Committee Work.—The New York City Committee chose as its chief work the organization of meetings in and around New York City. The meetings organized include receptions to the candidate, to suffragists and members of other women's organizations, and beach parties with prominent speakers. One of the most successful features of the New York City Committees' campaign was the opening, in the latter part of the campaign period, of empty shops for meetings at noon and at other times. These meetings were addressed by prominent campaign speakers and drew large crowds of voters.

* See p. 26, paragraph 14.

Finance*

The Women's Committee considered that in its main function of giving women throughout the country a responsible part in the campaign it was essential that the women should raise their own money, plan their own budget and keep within it.

Budget.—The Women's Committee did all of these things. It raised a total of $132,-836.95 throughout the campaign from women all over the country in contributions of from fifty cents up. It apportioned the funds to the various divisions of work, and then carefully followed the apportionment. It received no financial assistance of any kind from the National Republican Committee or the men's Hughes Alliance. It paid its full pro rata share of all expenses at headquarters on a basis determined in executive committee. Between the men's committees and the women's there were no financial allowances, concessions, favors, or "pocket money" provisions. Such "adjustments" were made unnecessary by the business like agreements definitely made when expenses were shared. The Women's Committee lived within its budget, had all its bills paid by December 15, and had no deficit. This does not mean that new and unexpected needs for money did not confront the Committee from time to time; it means that when these needs arose, special funds were raised to meet them, and no piece of work was definitely begun until the arrangements for financing it were also satisfactorily under way.

At the beginning of the campaign it was estimated that a budget of $100,000 would be needed to carry on the work well, on a national basis. The actual money raised for the budget was some $20,000 less than the amount estimated. In addition to this, however, the Committee raised a separate fund of $48,873.32, for the train. The main budget included many small contributions, notably many of one dollar each, from women all over the country. Since it was necessary to collect the train fund in a short time, it was impossible to carry on a campaign for a large number of small contributions. The actual number of contributors to the train fund is 231. To the Women's Committee fund as a whole, there were over 1,100 contributors.

Office System.—The name and address of each contributor was carded and numbered. The original card became a cash book. A copy, signed by the treasurer, was mailed to the donor as a receipt, another copy was filed alphabetically and a third copy was filed geographically, by states. An account was opened in the Harriman National Bank, in the name of the Women's Committee, and the necessary information was filed with the Secretary of State, at Albany. No supplies were ordered without explicit signed requisitions in duplicate from heads of departments, approved by the Chairman. Expense accounts of field officers after being approved by the heads of departments and audited were paid weekly from a current expense fund. Salaries were paid twice each month.

Policy.—The value of the women's campaign, in its financial aspect, seems to us to be based on its observance of two fundamental principles; financial responsibility and the independence that accompanies it in initiating and conducting work; and secondly the policy of arousing women all over the country to the practical work of raising money as an expression of their political interest. We have said that the direct contributors to the train fund were comparatively few. But the fact is that the train project stimulated local committees of women in the various towns to undertake the work of political organization, often for the first time, and *to raise their first independent political funds.* The train meeting was often the first big political meeting of the year in a given town. In almost every case it was not only organized, but financed by women, the men sometimes giving a band, or contributing the use of a hall. Local committees told us that often in thus assuming the financial responsibility for the train meeting they had learned the first principles of political organization.

It was an essential part of the financial method of the Women's Committee to keep contributors constantly informed concerning expenditures and the progress of the national work. This policy frankly amazed

* See Financial Summary, p. 28.

many contributors. When we have established among women a desire to know how their contributions to campaign and other funds are being used, and a willingness to spend some time in finding out these things, we shall have taken a big step toward securing social and political responsibility among women.

The Hughes Women's Campaign Train*

The train was an eleventh hour attempt to rally the women of the country to the cause of Mr. Hughes. For weeks the reports of our field workers had been disquieting. They told us that the Republican party women were not being organized, that their work was not being stimulated or directed; that national activity and interest were being delayed by anxiety about saving local and state tickets; that there was no "ginger"; that the Progressives and Republicans were not getting together; that a series of blunders in the west was losing voters who had been for Mr. Hughes in the beginning; that a critical instead of a constructive campaign was having a bad effect; that peace and prosperity propaganda was making headway, but was not shaking the Republican over-confidence; and that the women's bureau in Chicago was paying most of its attention to Illinois. The decisive factor, however, in sending the train was the fact that the Democrats had succeeded in putting Mr. Hughes on the defensive—an unlooked for situation, affecting vitally the lines of women's interests. The issues the train prepared to meet proved to be the determining factors in the campaign. The Democrats had succeeded in making them vital by a series of the most skilful half truths ever put before an American public.

What were the allegations by which Mr. Hughes was put on the defensive? They were:

(1) That he was against labor, as shown by the decision in the Danbury hatters' case; by his veto of the full crew bill; by the teachers' equal pay bill; by the Coney Island fare bill. These came to be big words in the west. We found thousands of people who had heard the allegations and but scores who had ever heard the answer. Mrs. Raymond Robins, the leader of the organized working women of America dealt with the labor questions at the train meetings. To hundreds of thousands of voters—but not to all whom the Adamson bill had deluded in America—she gave a clear exposition of the real meaning of the bill as a minimum wage bill, and the viciousness of its manner of enactment in which there was sacrificed that very principle of arbitration toward which the working men and women of America have so long been struggling. The Hughes labor record, the significance of his Supreme Court decisions, the real answer to the question, "Who took the Danbury hatters' homes away from them?" were expounded by Mrs. Robins and Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr. Mrs. Dorr, as school editor of the Evening Mail, was equipped to present a clear statement of the reasons for Mr Hughes's veto of the teachers' equal pay bill, a fact which, with many misrepresentations, the Democratic Committee was using widely as campaign material among the voting women of the west.

(2) That Mr. Hughes was against the human interests in America and for Wall Street. Dr. Katherine Davis and Miss Maude Miner, with their records of service with Mr. Hughes in New York upon measures affecting women and children and the social welfare of the state, answered these allegations. Most of their listeners had never before heard of what he had done as governor for working women and children, for probation, for tenement life, for the fight against tuberculosis. They knew nothing about his decisions on the pure food laws.

(3) That he was against suffrage in spite of his pronouncement for the Federal amendment. Much was made of the fact that "Mr. Wilson voted for suffrage in New Jersey, while Mr. Hughes did not in New York."

The suffrage issue was dealt with by sev-

* See Appendix II, p. 31.

eral of the speakers, Mrs. Robins, Dr. Davis, Mrs. Dorr and Miss Freeman.

(4) That Mr. Hughes lacked a well defined policy of Americanism. This allegation was met by Mary Antin and Frances Kellor, who knew well from actually working with Mr. Hughes, that before "hyphenism" became an issue, Mr. Hughes, as governor, had made the first governmental step toward abolishing the hyphen by creating the first state bureau for that purpose, the New York State Bureau of Industries and Immigration.

Mrs. Nelson O'Shaughnessy gave a clear presentation of the real Mexican situation, and Dr. Davis presented the facts which, more widely preached and more clearly understood, would have settled once and for all the "Kept us out of war" hysteria.

Mrs. Maude Howe Elliott, daughter of Julia Ward Howe, explained the vital interests of women in the campaign for real preparedness, outlined the collective message of the train, and commented upon the personal qualities of insight, integrity and persistence that fit Mr. Hughes to be a national administrator.

Mrs. Edith Ellicott Smith showed that the Administration's boast of unusual benefits to the farmer rested on claims belonging more truly to the Rural Commission appointed by President Roosevelt. She dealt also with other agricultural questions.

Mrs. Frank Mebane, of North Carolina, analyzed the sectionalism inherent in Democratic administration; Miss Elizabeth Freeman addressed colored audiences at specially arranged meetings. Mrs. William Curtis Demorest presented at most of the meetings the most practical methods by which women could organize and assist in the present campaign. *In a number of cases practical organization was begun before the train left the town.*

Other speakers dealt with other issues of varying importance, but among them all there was no divergence from the task of getting Mr. Hughes's record to the people and interpreting him to the voters.

Under these conditions many ask: "Why did the train not carry the women voters for Hughes?"

Could a train spending one day or two in a state, and unsupported by either national or local Republican leaders compete with house to house Democratic canvassers, book agents and "corsetierres"? Could a train which answered vital questions for a few hundred thousand people carry several million voters who were being seen personally day by day? Could a train met at every point with effective bitterness and misrepresentation, and with no refutation from its own headquarters, do its task effectively?

From the moment of its announcement, the Democrats planned the defeat of the train. They realized its appeal, its power, and its possibilities, as the Republicans did not. That it was deemed worthy of highly organized and systematic attacks is the best evidence of its possibilities. The boast of the Democrats was that it would "never return to New York," and that they "would change its itinerary." In the first they failed; in the second, they succeeded to the degree of changing the schedule in four states. They raised class, racial, sectional and personal issues. No money was spared in organizing a campaign ahead of the train. They stimulated the fear of the German vote in one place, the wet and dry issue in another, suffrage here and anti-suffrage there, and sectional jealousy and class hatred almost everywhere.

In the face of a really magnificent organized opposition from the Democrats, and no counter defense from the Republicans, the train proved to be a vote getter. Voters in such states as Kansas and California insist that if it had come earlier and stayed longer, it would have carried the states for Hughes. It was not that there was too much of the train, but that there was too little!

The train encountered six great sources of opposition.

The first obstruction was an American press which instructed its correspondents to deal with the train as "society copy." It revealed the fact that the American press does not yet regard women as a real factor in its national political life. The train did much to change this attitude, for at the end of the trip the press was reporting the meetings from a political point of view. It is a significant fact that the actual reporting of the meetings in the local press forms, generally speaking, a just and fair account

of the train, and is in striking contrast to the stimulated publicity in New York, in towns not visited, and in the more unscrupulous of the Democratic papers, which garbled even the news of the day.

The second great obstacle was the indifference of the Republican organization to its women voters. Everywhere the train went in suffrage states it found an almost total lack of interest, of organization, and of healthy political life and interest among women voters. It was impossible for the train to do more than awaken the Republicans to the danger by showing the Democratic activity among them, of which in some cases they had been quite unaware.

The third opposition was the desire of Republican leaders to limit the train's activities to suffrage states and their inability to grasp the idea that women can do campaign work without arguing for or against suffrage as a sole issue—that women have contributions of personality, facts, achievement, understanding of issues, and a citizenship not to be bounded by a struggle for the vote on north, south, east and west. Women are supposed to have inalienable tendencies like prohibition and suffrage which they cannot keep out of politics, an error which the train refuted. All the non-suffrage states out of which the train was asked to keep for such reasons went Democratic. The best argument for suffrage in this country is eventually going to be women's ability to handle her political duties as impersonally, and efficiently, and economically as she now does her home or her job.

The fourth big source of opposition was the able organization which the Democratic party put behind its women leaders, who pursued a highly personal, bitter campaign of insult and misrepresentation. In one place the train was met with advertising of the "billionaire train," so libelous and gross that it was recalled as soon as discovered; in another there was an attempt to drive Democratic motors through the reception parade. In another town the train was threatened with red paint and barbed wire. Districts were organized ahead of the train and paid hecklers were common. This opposition was to be expected, and had it been promptly met by support of the train from the Republican organization throughout the country, it would have been the greatest single asset in the national campaign, because every woman on the train had a record of achievement which no campaign hecklers could vilify; and every woman had the kind of information and the kind of appeal that meant votes for Mr. Hughes.

The fifth big obstacle was the silent opposition of suffragists who can see only one way of winning the vote, by "non-partisanship" and the vociferous denunciation of the anti-suffragists, who see in all political activity a mania for getting votes for women.

The sixth source of opposition lay in fear on the part of club women, particularly leaders who put club above country and club methods ahead of party and who consider civic work as of a higher order than political work. These feared to give co-operation to any candidate, even a national candidate.

In the face of this notable opposition the train accomplished, aside from its immediate vote-getting errand, some notable things for the national political life of women.

It opened a political door to women's independence, self-respect and resourcefulness. Nearly every one of the 328 meetings was organized, financed and managed by women.

The train minimized sectional lines and laid the basis for a conscious national spirit among women; it gathered women's committees up at certain towns and carried them to others; it took state committees and workers from one state to another. The chief topic of conversation on these rides from city to city was national issues and American conditions. Time after time the visiting committees emphasized the importance of the stimulus it was to them to come thus, often for the first time, into contact with the exponents of national interests and national issues. "I am going back to work with a new sense of national service," was the gist of many a parting speech.

It disregarded class, racial and religious lines. The greatest charge against the Democratic campaign is that it sought in every way to array class against class—

Wall Street against the working man, Jew against Catholic, the German against the English, the rich against the poor. We shall be long in recovering from this arrangement. Jews, Catholics, Protestants, Poles, Germans, Irish and English, rich and poor were among the speakers, audiences and guests of the train. In town after town, they said that for the first time in its history, everybody was there—the club woman, the housewife, the society leader, the worker, the suffragist, and the anti-everything, and even people, who because of personal differences hadn't spoken for years, were all working together for a good meeting. Even the women voters who regarded the train at first as a presumption on the part of the non-voters came to see that a non-voter may love her country quite as much and be willing to work quite as hard without the vote as with it, and may be the same kind of citizen. The train did much to abolish the "special privilege" feeling which many voting women have toward their non-voting sisters.

The train meant for many women a real —and a first—opportunity for national service. It is a curious commentary upon our political life that in the non-suffrage states there is no political organization through which a woman can serve her country or through which she can seek to obtain the civic improvement she wants, except a suffrage or anti-suffrage party. Many thousands of women are of little service now because they do not regard getting or opposing suffrage as the chief end of existence, and as yet have no other entry into political activity.

The train gave the men of many a community a new insight into women's powers of organization, resourcefulness, and ability to do team work. It uncovered the Democratic opposition and activity which many of them had not even suspected. It put ginger and interest into a lifeless campaign. It cracked the surface of the selfish, material, wholly complacent issues of the campaign and restored to some the faith and courage that put national honor above prosperity.

Organization and Management

Every town at which the train stopped was organized in advance—first by a field worker who assisted in organizing the local committee and in planning its demonstration; secondly, by a publicity organizer who furnished the necessary data and stories; and thirdly, by an advance train representative who said the last word on speakers, programs and other details. Only women were asked to arrange for the local meetings, although the meetings were for both men and women, and men usually presided or spoke.

Field organizers were provided from headquarters with names and data for each town along the route, and with general instructions for organizing local train committees. Headquarters also kept in touch with local political leaders and local committees during the month preceding the departure of the train from New York.

There has been a good deal said about the luxury of the train and its expense. The train was made up of a baggage car, filled with literature, a day coach used for a workshop, a diner and three compartment cars of the ordinary type used on all railways. One of these was given over to the press so the party occupied two compartment cars. Each speaker had a compartment except when they were shared with visiting delegations, a frequent occurrence. At no time was there a private car attached to the train. Each car had its usual porter and there was one maid for the entire train.

All questions of policy, discussion of speeches, etc., were decided at daily staff meetings and it was understood and generally observed that criticisms, complaints, suggestions, should be made there and openly debated, or not made at all. This preserved an admirable *esprit de corps,* and brought results far beyond our best hopes.

The total mileage covered by the train was 11,075 miles. The minimum fares required east of Chicago were 100, and west were 75. The total cost of operating the train was less than four cents a mile on the basis of 100 fares. This included not only the actual running of the train, but all of the charges for organization ahead of the

train and the overhead charges for management at headquarters and on board, as well as for the literature and decorations. We carried nearly a million pieces of literature, about three-fourths being supplied by the Republican National Committee.

A train manager had charge of all schedules and train facilities. The New York Central sent with the train a special agent to whose courtesy and efficiency we owed much. In arranging the itinerary, the larger cities were selected for the evening meetings and as many intervening cities and towns as possible were scheduled for day meetings. Except for five night stops at hotels, the train was kept traveling at night. The best and fastest available lines were chosen except in one or two instances where a second class line was chosen to eliminate the payment of extra fares. In two or three side trips, where it was necessary to divide the party, regular trains were used or one of our cars was attached to a regular train. A number of ten-minute stops for rear-platform speeches were worked in en route in response to insistent requests. The train equipment proved to be adequate except in three or four instances when an extra Pullman was chartered for a night at a time, to accommodate especially large delegations.

The train was late but twice during the entire trip, and had to be carefully watched to see that it did not get in ahead of time.

Not a single piece of baggage was lost at any point. Baggage was transferred without the personal attention of any of the speakers or passengers. Since the make-up of the party changed considerably, and there were constantly local guests on board for a few days at a time, and since the speakers had often to be divided—some going to one town and some to another, the baggage arrangements were not always simple. About once a week the itinerary permitted the train party to stay at a hotel over night.

A force of stenographers was carried and train bulletins giving the schedule of the next day's meetings were issued to the train members daily. A register was kept of all train visitors and guests.

Immediately upon arrival in a town the waiting automobiles were decorated, especially those to be used for street meetings. Special cars were filled with literature. In selecting the kind and quantity of literature to be distributed at the meetings, local conditions and the kind of meeting arranged were always taken into consideration. Agricultural articles were distributed in farming districts, Col. Roosevelt's articles in strongly Progressive districts, Hughes's labor record in industrial centers, "He kept us out of war" facts at all places, etc. Nearly 50,000 Hughes Alliance buttons were given out during parades, at meeting places and from rear platforms.

The train carried a research assistant who supplied each member with daily papers with up to date political news, and with clippings and who gathered information for speeches and refutation of misstatements. The last word on the Adamson Bill or on Mexico, and copies of speeches by the leading campaigners, etc., were furnished each member regularly.

Publicity

The publicity division included the management of meetings, arrangements with local committees, programs, speakers and press bureau.

General Meetings.—Five hundred thousand people were reached directly. Three hundred and twenty-eight regular meetings were held, in addition to smaller impromptu meetings. These meetings had one great object—to get votes. And we had one great object in every town—to reach as many people as possible. Since we could not hold night meetings in every town, we had to arrange to *get the people where they were*—in factory, shop, railroad yard, school, or church. We tried to avoid having simply Hughes parties, and we succeeded. We tried to avoid luncheons and receptions in hotel parlors or exclusive clubs, except where these were unimportant features in a day's program including many general meetings.

The publicity department sent ahead to every program chairman these definite requests: to make the main meeting a real "mass meeting," and to so advertise it; to

hold it not in a hotel ball room or exclusive hall, but in some general meeting place; to arrange as many industrial meetings as possible, in the factories if we were there in the day time, or in labor halls or sections of the city if we were there at night; to arrange to have one of our speakers address an audience of colored voters; to get permits for street meetings, if permits were needed; to have a band. All final arrangements for meetings were made by telegraph before the arrival of the train. The publicity department wired the local committees the list of persons on board, including visiting delegations from within the state. Very often the local chairman for a given town would come to meet the train 100 miles or so ahead of its arrival in her city in order to perfect the program. It must be remembered that some of the stops were very short and that six or seven meetings were often held in periods varying from less than an hour to several hours.

In every case the publicity secretary got in touch with the local chairman at the very first possible moment on the station platform. She had with her a tentative program suggested in a staff meeting, and then with the local committee she made whatever adjustments seemed advisable. The automobile processions were arranged, the people put into the right automobiles, the pictures of local celebrities taken at the train. All this had often to be done with the greatest celerity, or some of the time set aside for the meeting would be sacrificed. Much has been said of the "social receptions" accorded the train. As a matter of fact it was a very business-like performance. A good meeting had to be delivered to a waiting crowd, and local committee and train party alike were intent on their common object.

We tried to turn every circumstance to our account. One of the first questions we asked on arrival was what else was going on in town that night. At Billings, Montana, for instance, we found the committee a little apprehensive about our mass meeting because David Starr Jordan, who had a big following there, was lecturing that night under the auspices of a distinguished club, and in one of the other big halls a wrestling match was on. As a matter of fact our mass meeting was overcrowded. Also, we caught the Jordan peace crowd in a big street meeting just as his audience was dismissed, and one of our speakers spoke at the wrestling match. We "covered" the town.

There were a few poorly attended mass meetings. There were a few "frosts." But they were comparatively *very few indeed*. Because the actual report of the meetings was not carried fully or without bias in any but the local press, the truth about these meetings may never be widely known, but not only those on the train, but also the people of the various cities know well that these were in the great majority overcrowded meetings, business like in tone, serious, concentrated, of deep political significance. Often a state or county Republican Chairman would say, "That is the best political meeting I have seen. I didn't know women could do it."

Significance was not merely in the huge meetings of the trip—the spirited crowded Seattle meeting at which Senator Beveridge, rising in his box, paid his ardent respects to the train as the happy augury of a new and more healthful era in American politics, or the meeting in Helena, in which, at the request of the state Republican organization, Mrs. Robins joined with the Vice-Presidential candidate; or the great mid-morning meeting at Topeka, or the meeting of 6,000 in Des Moines, or that of 4,000 at Long Beach, but in the quietly effective meetings held day after day—now in a small town with 500 in some Elks Hall or "Goodwill Temple," more often with 3,500 in the largest theatre the city could boast. At San Diego a crowd of 5,000 people assembled in front of the great organ on the exposition ground *at 9 o'clock in the morning;* at Springfield, Ill., an attentive crowd of several thousand listened to the arguments of our speakers outside the Court House, from 8:30 until 11 at night. And it was we who broke away then, not our audience. Around Los Angeles, where several of our speakers remained two days while the rest of the party went to Phoenix we campaigned in all kinds of meetings—in factories, railroad yards, woman's clubs, banquet halls, mass meetings, reaching in all 50,000 people in that region. The meetings were held at

sunrise, at high noon in the factories, at night in crowded halls. Sometimes during a half day's stop in a given place meetings were held in as many as eight outlying towns. This often involved long auto or tedious street car trips; it always required great expedition. In one day eighteen such meetings were held. This is not spell-binding. It is business. The Los Angeles section gave Mr. Hughes a majority.

Industrial Meetings.—Employers, whether "Hughes men" or not, showed a general willingness to have us address their employes. The members of the local committees whom we had asked to arrange factory meetings often confessed to us that they had never realized before how large a part of their resident population, and of their intelligent public sentiment, *has to be reached while at work,* if it is going to be effectively reached at all. The factory and shop meetings were held sometimes at the noon hour, sometimes in a recess called in the middle of the morning with the machinery still going, sometimes in the factory yards when the evening whistles were blowing and the crowds pouring homeward. The talks at these factory meetings had always to be concise. They included an analysis of the Adamson Bill, a review of the Danbury Hatters' Case, and a presentation of Mr. Hughes's public record, his labor record, and his Supreme Court decisions. Some of these meetings were very impressive. In Miles City, while general meetings were being held in the heart of the town, Mrs. Raymond Robins spoke from 10:10 to 10:30 in the Milwaukee Railroad yards. A platform had been carefully covered with clean paper for the occasion, and an attentive crowd of men grouped around the noisy machinery listened with interest to probably the first real statement of the labor issues of the campaign which they had ever heard. In several cities the labor unions arranged for meetings at night; and in one place at least, Streator, Ill., at the Barr Clay Factory, the secretary of the local union, with the co-operation of the management, arranged a noon-day meeting for 350 men and our speaker was told by the management that she should take as much time as she needed, and that the whistles would not be blown until she had finished.

Colored Meetings.—We noticed that colored audiences showed a serious interest in political questions, which this country would do well to preserve among them. The colored population always co-operated in efforts to organize meetings among them. Sometimes they preferred to be a part of the main mass-meeting, and in all such cases the decision was left to them. In one city where the colored people were having a huge meeting of 15,000 people, our speaker was cordially received on the program. A number of the colored meetings were held in churches. And one got a curious feeling that those of the colored people who have interested themselves in politics at all, see it as something very *directly* connected with civic ideals and personal standards. In one sense this may be only an expression of that naive religionism characteristic of the history of the colored race in America; in another sense it has great promise for their development as a contributing element in our best citizenship.

Street Meetings.—To many towns in this country street meetings still mean hoodlumism. In arranging them, the publicity management continually met the warning, "Remember, this is a very conservative town." Wherever we could, without antagonism, we smilingly over-rode the counsel of our local committees. And often those who set out to street meetings with us with the most evident apprehension, glowed with pride after the successful business-like meeting in the heart of their town, under the historic monument, or on the steps of the Federal Building, or on the "National Bank corner." After one experiment, talking politics in the open air to your passing fellow citizens did not seem like such a radical innovation after all. We held anywhere from one to ten street meetings in a given town, depending on the crowds on the streets and the time of day. These were usually held while the main mass meeting was going on inside. Sometimes we "captured" other audiences, in or outside theatres at the close of a matinee, at fair grounds, corn shows, etc. In departing for street meetings we took with us the band that had met us at the station, or, failing that, a bugler. An auto loaded with literature accompanied every street

meeting contingent. Usually one of the men who was co-operating with the local train committee, went with us to introduce the speakers. Most often this was the mayor of the city or the Republican chairman. Usually a crowd was on hand a very few minutes after our decorated automobile had drawn up at the curb. If it was not, and if the town was a sleepy one, several of us circled the main street making our own announcement of the meeting.

In all political work during the past few years, too little account has been taken of the valid use of *physical demonstration.* There was something perfectly sound in the old torch light processions and red fire parades. Of course there is no political argument in these things. But they are a very valuable adjunct to sound meetings. When people have forgotten how to march and sing together, and prefer to keep their campaign clear of such "low brow tricks," they have forgotten that enthusiasm and mob psychology are as old as the human race and can never be ruled out of any game in which *all* of us take a part. Many a Republican organization man said to us, "You have set the ball rolling. You have put the 'pep' into the campaign for this town. Now it won't be so hard for us to keep them waked up."

This organized plan of *meeting voters where they were,* in shops, factories, colored meetings, on the street, had two effects; it got more votes; and it had a healthy influence on the political solidarity of the town, and the social sympathies of its residents.

Speakers and Programs.—We had a two-fold problem in arranging our programs: to make sure that they included the speakers and subjects calculated to give our whole composite message; and to meet the particular desires of the local committee, as to speakers. In a given hour and a half, or two hours, we should often have preferred to have two long speeches, allowing time for full exposition and argument. But the desire of the local committee to hear this or that speaker whose work they knew and whose approach to political interest they understood, could not be easily disregarded. We presented our judgment to them and then left to them the final decision. We had few general speakers. Almost every one had studied carefully some given issue of the campaign and had a background of work that particularly fitted her to deal with it. But in the course of the trip we several times found that subjects of current importance in the campaign discussions were not being intensively covered by any one of our speakers. This fact would be brought out at staff meeting, and some one of the group would volunteer to make the necessary study and get up the speech. When it is considered that there were at best only a few hours on the train in any day, it is readily seen what concentrated effort this service required. Every speaker made an evident effort to sense the value of a meeting as a whole. If her subject seemed less necessary in a given place, she was usually the first to call this to the attention of the program maker. The speakers were good soldiers. It was sometimes impossible to let them know whether or not they were to speak until they had arrived at the place of meeting. It was repeatedly necessary to leave out scheduled speakers, to shorten their time (because of change of plans made by the local committees) after their speech had been planned, and to ask speakers to take part in important street or overflow meetings when they had already spoken as often during the day as was reasonable or good for their throats. Speakers were always given the exact number of minutes they were to speak and time was called if they exceeded their limit. But they adapted themselves to these given periods with wonderful flexibility and often a meeting in which eight people spoke and which had to be closed promptly in order to reach the train on time was carried through without the calling of time on any speaker. As soon as the "train crew" realized that it would be quite impossible to make programs final until we had actually arrived in a city, they all voted *to be ready at any time,* to speak for any given length of time whether it was five minutes or thirty, and indoors or outdoors.

Press.—The advance publicity for the train was managed in two ways: through the New York office in co-operation with local committees and field organizers; and through an advance publicity agent who went over the route to the Pacific Coast and back during September. The advance

agent saw the editors of the daily papers in every town, and wherever possible the political reporters. She saw the Associated Press men and gave special advance stories to editors. She also attended local committee meetings, gave advice as to the form of entertainment when asked, told each group what the women of the other cities had planned, and saw the leading Republican organization men in every town. She notified the press bureau in New York concerning the special interests of the respective papers, and the kind of stories and photographs most desired. The advance publicity agent returned to New York to accompany the train. From time to time en route she was sent ahead again, rejoining the train at intervals.

Publicity from the New York Office.—A daily and sometimes a semi-daily news service for the train was conducted by the Publicity Department of the Women's Committee in the New York office, from September 12 until November 3. These news releases, before the train started, were based on the reports of the field organizers and the advance agents, and gave the plans of the various cities organizing train committees, etc, etc. After the train started the daily news releases were based upon the telegraphic report sent back from the train to the Publicity Department every night. These stories were released to New York City papers always, and, in addition, to differing groups of papers according to the kind of story and its probable interest in different geographical sections.

In cases where the local train committees was well organized before the train started, these committees were used by the New York Office to promote local publicity. Special stories were sent to people designated by the local committee or sent to the local committee for redistribution to the local papers. Sometimes the local committees had a publicity committee who took the matter directly in charge. In some cases we simply got in touch with our local organizers, asked them to find people on their local papers who would be interested in their news or feature stories, and upon securing the names of the editors and the agreement to use material, we sent stories, mats and photos directly to them.

Special news stories were issued with several numbers of the Hughes Campaign Service, to its list of 50,000 official campaign workers. These stories included Chairman Wilcox's endorsement, a statement of the purpose of the train by the Chairman of the Women's Committee, and interviews with Mrs. Raymond Robins, Dr. Katherine Davis and others of the train party.

Mats and photographs of the train party, individual speakers, and members of the train committee were sent out as advance publicity from the New York Office as well as from the train later. Proofs of the train poster, as well as the poster in mat form, were also widely distributed to the press with the itinerary.

One of the important pieces of publicity from the New York Office after the train started was a telegram sent one day in advance to all the papers in a given town, announcing the exact time of the arrival and departure of the train the next day and inviting the paper to send its representative. In many cases the reporters appeared at the train with the telegrams in their hands as their credentials.

Posters and Advertising.—Fifty thousand train posters were distributed and used extensively by local committees. No advertising of the train was done from headquarters, but local committees were advised as to the best method of advertising the mass meetings in the daily press and by other methods.

Publicity from the Train.—After the train started most of the press work was done from the train—in addition, of course, to the daily news service from the New York Office based on daily telegrams from the train. The press bureau on the train had stenographers and a mimeograph machine to get out its routine publicity. This consisted of (1) telegraphic dispatch nightly to the New York Office, and sometimes to Chicago and San Francisco papers and the Associated Press; (2) a telegraphic report of the day's meetings sent nightly to the three towns directly ahead; (3) a condensed running story of the progress of the train current to the minute, ready to be issued to the reporters as soon as the train stopped; (4) advance copies of the speeches to be given; (5) a correct list of all on

board and short biographies of each speaker; (6) special daily stories to two New York and one Chicago paper which did not have correspondents on board. Five New York papers and two Chicago papers had correspondents, and the papers of many other cities had correspondents aboard throughout their state, or for a part of the trip.

Every paper in the towns ahead received by mail three relays of advance publicity material, accompanied by photographs and mats. But the press representative always carried with her to the meetings the latest material, and copies of all other available matter, recent statements, interesting telegrams, etc., in order that if there had been any hitch all material might still be available in the most convenient form. It does not need to be said that in addition to this material much interest was aroused by talking to the reporters. We recall some notable instances of Democratic editors and reporters who came to the meetings in a somewhat cynical temper and who showed and expressed profound respect at its close.

In addition to the special news service from the train to the towns on the itinerary a number of general releases were sent out from the train to several hundred papers at a time. The material thus released included special interviews from members of the train party, endorsements by Republican leaders, and extracts from speeches.

The official photographer for the trip took many photographs in every town. These were cleared to the press through the regular photographic news agency, and also by the Publicity Department from New York and from the train. Moving picture firms arranged to have their men meet the train at intervals.

For Future Reference

The Women's Committee is recording here conclusions based on its experience in this campaign. These conclusions are stated with care, and are the result not of theories, but of experience. They are given for whatever suggestion they may have for men and women alike in future campaigns.

We believe that a new order of political campaign is indicated in this country, and *is coming to pass*. It will be new in spirit, and new in technique. It will be less "professional" in a political sense, yet much better organized. It will engage the active interests of many more groups of our population than are now affected by political interest or organization. It must and will be the culmination of public interest and opinion on public questions in inter-campaign periods. It will bridge the vast gap that now exists in this country between "politics" and civic enthusiasm and civic zeal and civic *work*.

Any criticism implied in these suggestions is criticism of the political attitude of the American people, rather than of the particular management of this particular campaign. We are pointing no morals, and have no interest whatever, in "fixing the blame." We are interested in setting forth the bases upon which we believe must rest the reconstruction of American politics in general, and of American political campaigns in particular. As a result of our own efforts in this campaign and our observation of the efforts of others, our conclusions urgently point to:

1. *The need of education on national issues* among voters everywhere. The same voters that reasoned carefully on local issues and got and weighed the facts on these decided national issues and tickets by prejudice, convention, or mob psychology. Millions of voters lost sight of the fact that there *were* any national issues. They voted for or against two men, on general impressions gained less from the records of the candidates than from hearsay.

2. *The need of an awakened national feeling.* Education on national issues will be of little use unless there is devotion to national welfare. The deepest lesson of the past campaign is our need of a *nationalized citizenship.*

3. *The need of taking women into account in all political reckonings and all political work.* This includes consideration of women not only as voters and a now considerable part of the electorate, but also as citizens without the vote, capable of influencing public tendencies and of making important contributions of citizenship and service to the campaign. We want no sex solidarity in politics. We do want women directly represented in the political organization, with a direct voice in party councils. They have demonstrated their ability to hold up their end.

4. *The need of a new spirit in party organization.* We need strong party organization. But it is becoming more and more clear that real party organization must be based on live principles, not on traditions merely. One of the aspects most generally remarked in this election is the tendency in the west and among women to vote for persons rather than parties, especially on the national ticket. This tendency contains both danger and promise. It contains danger in the degree to which it indicates the possibility of a gradual loss of the sound national principles upon which valid political parties are founded. Personality and leadership are shifting things and can never be made to take the place of these. We need parties. And it must be repeated that the tendency to overlook the party idea and be concerned with personality and candidate only is dangerous to the ideal of sound political organization. But in the degree to which this tendency makes away from hide-bound loyalty to a formal organization or machine, it is an undisguised virtue, and contains great prom-

ise. It heralds the intention of healthy-minded citizens to make parties *express their principles,* or lose support. It is a test of life, so to speak, in political organization, and forms a check upon it. If we see truly and plan carefully we can make this "non-partisanship" of a large percentage of our present voters our greatest asset in securing a new spirit in party organization. Potentially it is a source not of party disaffection, but of party control—and regeneration.

5. *The need of a closer connection between national headquarters and local organizations in any national campaign.* There must be respect for state and local issues, and courage in facing them on the part of national headquarters. There must be consideration of local needs and requests, as to speakers, literature, policies. *There must above all be a regular interchange of information.* When this is assured the enthusiasm of a given city or state will not all be thrown into gubernatorial and congressional campaigns. The presidential campaign will have its true place.

6. *The need that the political organization in a given community shall be more truly representative* of all elements in the community. All kinds of people must be active in it—or it cannot carry throughout the city. If there are many political clubs or sub-organizations there must be also provision for allying these in the campaign and correlating and concentrating their work.

7. *The need in a national campaign of a well organized method of reaching working men and women,* whose working days leave little time for other interests. The mass meetings must be made *their* meetings. *Their* speakers must appear. We believe a national factory campaign of noon hour meetings, or street meetings outside the gates of the works at closing time in the evening, with speakers qualified to give the candidate's real record on the issues nearest to the people, must be an important part of future campaigns. Nowhere in the past campaign was bitterness, misrepresentation and illusion more determining than among the working men and women.

8. *The need of a clear cut financial responsibility,* and a careful budget system with intelligent planning in advance, and apportionments for various divisions of work. For women especially we have shown in the body of this report that, in the present state of their participation with men in political work, financial responsibility on their part must go with independence and initiative. These will be difficult to secure without such responsibility.

9. *The need of securing campaign contributions in small sums from rank and file voters.* This is already a matter of public interest. The discussions attending the proposed Corrupt Practices Act show how strongly public sentiment tends in this direction.

10. *The need of a new kind of campaign literature*—more facts, more arguments, more practical discussion of issues in short form, more careful and complete presentation of the record and opinions of the candidates, *with full context.* The day has passed when the reprinting of long speeches will satisfy voters. They want facts, carefully and powerfully stated.

11. *The need of a research bureau,* as carefully equipped with experts as a scientific bureau would be, and as industrious, and as truthful, conducted every day in the year.

12. *The need of more careful selection and assignment of speakers.* The speakers' force in a national campaign must contain fewer congressional and local candidates for office, fewer "orators," more real expounders and leaders. They must be fully equipped *early* in the campaign by the research bureau. They must be sent out with reference to local needs and desires.

13. *The need of more direct material for editors and the press from the publicity bureau.* They need all the facts and leads of the campaign, as fast as they can be delivered, in the most concrete and powerful form. After all the main business of a publicity bureau in a national campaign is not to furnish essays and plate matter to country editors.

14. *The need of a more carefully considered foreign language press service.*

Millions of new American citizens are most directly reached in this way and they deserve the best that can be given them. We believe this needs to be done in a discriminating way by a staff of people in close touch with the different races. It must be borne in mind that most of the foreign language papers are frankly not interested in political material on its own merit. They want advertising and they try always to make a deal by which for so much paid matter they will publish so much editorial matter. In our judgment what is needed is to make a great deal of use of the few larger and more powerful journals which do not live from hand to mouth and can afford to have some editorial policy and some interest in the country aside from the money they can get. We believe that for immediate and practical purposes paid advertising is the most successful way of dealing with the other papers, until a campaign of education—and of extermination—will make something else possible.

And finally, none of these things will be worth the paper it is written upon unless there is political courage. This campaign should spell the death of a purely negative opposition campaign. Positive national issues courageously championed in every state (not loud pedaled in some and soft pedaled in others), combined with emphasis upon the issues of most interest to that community must be the order of the future. Until we have the courage to make our nation's appeal above the appeal to the selfish interest of local publics, we shall remain politically in the state of chaos, inertia, jealous rivalry, inefficiency, indifference and stupidity in which we now find ourselves in the beginning of the year 1917. We are marking time while other nations make history.

National Hughes Alliance

Women's Committee, 1916

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS & DISBURSEMENTS

GENERAL FUND

RECEIPTS

General	$77,038.75
Straight America (sale and royalty contributed)	1,158.25
Refunds	2,961.07
Women's N. Y. C. Committee	2,803.85
Interest	.81
	$83,963.63

DISBURSEMENTS

	June	July	August	September	October	November December	Total
Administration	$170.00	$1,050.79	$2,626.06	$3,411.56	$1,682.91	$1,788.18	$10,729.50
Field Organization	87.50	1,206.18	1,803.17	4,511.28	3,965.06	3,150.56	14,723.75
Miscellaneous	20.00	1,300.00	1,000.00	200.70			2,520.70
Women's N. Y. C. Committee			1,384.50	1,846.00	4,307.50	461.50	7,999.50
Finance & Membership	146.67	1,262.29	2,451.71	2,104.35	1,778.73	3,348.24	11,091.99
Publicity							
Press	219.16	917.79	2,373.77	3,048.27	5,145.95	4,242.84	15,947.78
Speakers			125.25	252,38	318.56		696.19
Publications	.	148.50	1,323.82	3,437.26	2,639.19	4,215.58	11,764.35
Research	45.00	824.88	729.68	844.65	298.33	196.67	2,939.21
	$688.33	$6,710.43	$13,817.96	$19,656.45	$20,136.23	$17,403.57	$78,412.97

Balance	5,550.66
	$83,963.63

Women's Campaign Train for Hughes, 1916

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS & DISBURSEMENTS

RECEIPTS

Contributions	$43,430.00
Refunds	510.98
	$43,940.98
Deficit	4,932.34
	$48,873.32

DISBURSEMENTS

Accounts	September	October	November	Total
Administration Salaries	$531.24	$648.65	$268.48	$1,448.37
Administration Expense Account	51.00	1,209.30	3,350.40	4,610.70
Publicity Salaries	501.51	694.26	413.09	1,608.86
Publicity Expense Account	541.06	1,443.57	579.02	2,563.65
Transportation	25,331.75	1,595.20	53.93	26,980.88
Expenses en route, Office Supplies, Decorations	2,608.10	5,336.47	845.71	8,790.28
Organization	609.56	318.88	138.55	1,066.99
Meetings	140.00	417.09	1,246.50	1,803.59
	$30,314.22	$11,663.42	$6,895.68	$48,873.32

Appendices

I. Comments on Hughes Campaign Service

William J. Norton, Secretary of the Hughes Alliance of Illinois: "I received yesterday a copy of the publication of the Women's Branch of the Hughes Alliance, and I wish to congratulate you upon its very excellent make-up and real importance for campaign purposes. I have already found it very useful and am referring to it constantly in my dictation. I will appreciate it very much if you will put me on your mailing list for about ten copies of each issue. I also have a request from Edward B. Clark, political editor of the Chicago Evening Post, asking that his name be put on your mailing list."

Charles M. Harger, of the Abilene (Kansas) Reflector: "I'd like 1,000 copies of it here to use in the campaign."

Mr. William Grissem, Secretary of the State Executive Committee of the Republican Party of North Carolina: "While I do not wish to appear greedy, I would be very glad to mail this first edition of your pamphlet to each of our chairmen of the one hundred counties if you could furnish me such a number."

O. J. Mitchell, of Los Angeles, Cal.: "I have had the pleasure of seeing your first number. It is of so much up-to-date interest about the man who is to be the next President, I should like to see also all subsequent numbers."

E. M. Quimby, Chairman of the Republican City Committee of Suffolk, Va.: "I will appreciate it very much if you will send me 50 copies of the Service."

H. G. Wassen, of Pittsburgh, Pa.: "I have read with approval and much interest the first issue of the HUGHES CAMPAIGN SERVICE. It is well considered and set forth, and if it persists in manner as it starts out will prove to be a splendid campaign text book."

Ralph O. Stauber, Delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1912 and 1916 and an Attorney at St. Joseph, Mo.: "If I send you a list of names of men in this city and this, the 4th Congressional District of Missouri, to whom in my judgment your service would appeal, will you furnish them your service? Again, I have a special list of St. Joseph traveling men with resident addresses. Would you furnish them your service?"

Charles F. Sweet, member of the Republican State Committee of Maine: "We have in this County approximately 8,000 voters and during our State campaign I should like to cover the entire county with one or more of these bulletins, if they are obtainable."

T. J. Henaker, Deputy Clerk of the Circuit Court of Raleigh Co., W. Va.: "If you will put my name on your list for a number of extra copies each week, I will take great pleasure in distributing them to the best advantage. If you desire, I will make a list of 200 or 300 of the most prominent Republican workers in my county and send them to you."

Rev. Alfred W. Tongue, of Preston, Ia.: "The initial number of Hughes Campaign Service received. It is an inspiring issue well calculated to win the confidence and commendation of all thinking men."

Secretary of Hughes Alliance of Illinois: "I again wish to thank you for your Campaign Service. We have taken Mr. Colby's article and are having it reprinted as one of our Hughes Alliance bulletins."

L. L. Rupert, Kansas City, Mo.: "I believe you are going to play a very important part in convincing the independent voter to vote for Mr. Hughes."

Frank P. Rotton, Editor of the Essex Independent, Essex, Ia.: "I believe it will prove a strong factor in the campaign. Many Democrats are saying they will not vote for Wilson."

Horace M. Bradley, member Florida Congressional Committee, Clay County, Fla.: "I wish to congratulate you on the choice of contributions used. It is certain to be of great assistance to the party workers everywhere and is applicable to all sections of the country."

The Boston Daily Advertiser: "Through some oversight the Advertiser has not yet received copies of the third weekly bulletin issued by your Committee. I trust that you will favor us with copies of the Bulletin."

Peter H. Miller, candidate for Congress, Florida: "The voters in my district are starving for a little Republican news. *There is not a Republican newspaper in* the state. Send us more of the bulletins."

Stanley M. Isaacs, 54 William Street, N. Y. City: "I have seen copies of the first three numbers and will find future numbers useful during the campaign."

Secretary to Congressman Timberlake of Colorado: "In the issue before me I find several articles from which I expect to take pointers for some publicity work."

Senator Lippitt, Rhode Island: "I think your Hughes Campaign Service contains much that is valuable and interesting."

Republican Organization, Bellingham, Wash.: "I would like a quantity of the Hughes Campaign Service. Received several the other day and have not been able to keep track of them so great has been the demand for them. Especially do we need to distribute them among the labor class who are led to believe that Wilson is the friend and Hughes the enemy of labor. This can be overcome, but we wish to have printed proof of his stand."

The Nassau Post, Freeport, L. I.: "The magazine is particularly useful in a newspaper office and has plenty of punch."

Republican Club of Massachusetts: "We think this admirable campaign material, and we could use, if you have them to spare, as many as *five thousand copies of each issue.*"

W. C. O'Donnell, Jr., of the Educational Foundations Magazine: "Would you be willing to allow us to publish in Educational Foundations the article entitled 'What is Americanism?' by David Jayne Hill, published in the Hughes Campaign Service under date of August 4. This favor will be greatly appreciated. Permit me to add that if there is anything I can do personally to assist in the campaign for the election of Mr. Hughes I am at your service."

W. T. Arnold, Chairman, Republican Executive Committee, Madison County, Tenn.: "This is a list of the Republican Executive Committee, of Madison County, Tenn. Please put them on mailing list so that they can receive the Hughes Campaign Service; it will enable them to meet the Democratic arguments. *We have no Republican paper in West or Middle Tennessee.*"

Lafe Young, Jr., Des Moines, Ia.: "This is fine; very well gotten up, indeed. Just the sort of stuff we want to run on our editorial page. We like things that are crisp, timely, to-the-point, and especially things that are signed. Signed stuff is much more impressive than unsigned. Like to have you send two copies, one addressed to me personally and the other to the managing editor at the editorial department."

Marvin A. Riley, Director, N. J. Republican State Committee: "We could use even more than the number of copies you have been sending. We have more than 200 clubs in the State, every one of which is clamoring for it."

August Beaver, Editor of "The Wage Earner," Boston, Mass.: "Please place us on your mailing list for 100 or 200 pieces of each of your bulletins."

T. J. Honaker, Sec'y, Republican Campaign Committee, Raleigh County, W. Va.: "The distribution of the Campaign Service is having good effect. Republican candidate for Governor, Ira E. Robinson, received great applause at mention of Hughes' name when he spoke in Beckley last night. Think the service was a big factor in this enthusiasm."

H. J. Hagerman, Roswell, N. M.: "It is excellent stuff—fine, and just what I want, the best gotten up bulletin I've ever seen."

Alfred Marshall, Philadelphia, Pa.: "The articles in the Bulletin are very interesting and valuable."

Robert Smith, Omaha, Neb.: "It contains just the facts touching this campaign that I am anxious to have."

George F. Bruongton, Lawyer, Aztec, N. M.: "I am very much pleased with the Service. Newspapers in this county all Democratic, as is the county. Badly in need of the Service."

L. C. Anderson, Sec'y to Charles B. Warren, Detroit, Mich.: "I want the Hughes Campaign Service to be sent to Michigan men actively engaged in Hughes Campaign. We could use to great advantage five hundred copies of issue of Sept. 6 with article for insurance men."

F. B. Campbell, Sec'y, Republican County Central Committee, Canon City, Colo.: "It seems to me that this is a paper that will do considerable good towards the election of a Republican president."

M. B. Burrow, Chairman, Franklin Co. Republican Central Committee, Altus, Ark.: "We have to fight the old time Democracy of 1861-65 in this county. You can guess what we have to contend with. Please put my name on your mailing list."

Ward Hunt, Sec'y County Central Committee, Colville, Wash.: "After having examined several bulletins of the Hughes Campaign Service, I am convinced that this Service will be of incalculable benefit to the National Compaign of this country, if we can secure a sufficient number of the bulletins to circulate among our voters."

David Jayne Hill, Cohasset, Mass.: "Please send me 50 copies of bulletin No. 6."

II. Comments on the Women's Campaign Train for Hughes

Charles Evans Hughes, Oct. 17, 1916: "Please give to the women of the campaign train my heartiest congratulations and the assurance of my cordial appreciation of their earnest work."

Mrs. Charles Evans Hughes, Niles, Michigan, Oct. 17, 1916: "Mr. Hughes and I have read them (daily reports) with the deepest interest and satisfaction and are most appreciative of the splendid work which is being done."

Colonel Roosevelt, Denver, Colorado, Oct. 24, 1916: "I want to say a few words about this train. It is a little humorous that the same people who are saying 'He kept us out of war' so vigorously are going to the verge of private warfare in an effort to defeat this train. As to the 'billionaire train,' I happen to know the personnel of the train and know that every woman on the train is a wage earner, except two that are married. I know of no men or women of whom it could more accurately be said that they represent the idea of *sane service,* and I wish that all our citizens could know how much zealous effort has been and can be expended with magnificent return in a cause without resorting to the expedients of militant suffragettes. With all my heart I congratulate you upon the work you have done and upon the disinterestedness, the courage, and the vision with which you have met those gross and brutal efforts, which really represent the negation of the spirit of fair play we like to think of as the guiding spirit of this nation. I am not, as you know, used to sharing my time, but I have asked to share it tonight with two of your number at the meeting at the Auditorium."

William R. Willcox, Chairman Republican National Committee, New York City, Sept. 16, 1916: "The best thing about it is that it really has for its first object getting votes for Mr. Hughes. Women throughout the country are interested in showing that women's political activity is by no means wholly expressed in the cause of suffrage. This train is not a suffrage train. It is a practical expression of women's political co-operation with men for the election of Mr. Hughes, in a national crisis.

"Besides getting votes for Mr. Hughes, I think the campaign train will serve a large purpose as it goes through the twenty-nine states in its itinerary, carrying a group of national women workers and speakers. It will unite women in national solidarity behind a national issue."

Senator Albert B. Cummins, Iowa, October 30, 1916: "It was the universal comment that it was the most satisfactory political event which has occurred in this city for years."

Senator Albert J. Beveridge, Seattle, Wash., October 13, 1916: "It has often been contended with reference to women's political importance that they are not equal to men. These women here with a magnificent record of accomplishment behind them, are sufficient answer to that objection. Where in the world can you find a more magnificent type of womanly power and accomplishment than Mary Antin with her mind of light and heart of fire? Where can you find the equal in magnificence of spirit of Mrs. Dorr and Katherine Davis? I challenge anybody to produce among men or women a higher type than Mrs. Maud Howe Elliott. I count it an unusual honor to be in this wonderful presence. In all of my experience and study of American politics nothing has ever impressed me so much as the tour these women are making. It marks a greater political epoch for America. These women are the heralds of a new day. We now have the consciousness that there is before us a greater nation than we have ever had. It will be a nobler nation because we shall build now not with *our men alone but with our women,* who by their work thus far have done so much to fashion this world of ours after a nobler fashion."

Senator Reed Smoot, Salt Lake City, Utah, October 23 1916: "Issues of the campaign were discussed most intelligently in Utah by speakers on the Women's Hughes Campaign Train. They were listened to with the utmost attention. I am convinced that the train has been a great success and cannot fail to have marked effect upon the election."

C. M. Harvey, State Chairman, Helena, Montana, October 12, 1916: "Meeting splendid success; Mrs. Robins's talk last night left very favorable impression and extravagantly commented upon. There is no question now that the women's train is cutting the widest swath of any political scythe."

Ex-Governor Marion E. Hay, Spokane, Washington, October 13, 1916: "The speakers of the Women's Campaign Train for Hughes packed the Auditorium to its capacity tonight and presented issues of the campaign concisely and convincingly. If proper support is given these women, all states visited by them will be safely for Hughes."

Miss Harriet E. Vittum, Chicago, Illinois: "There is no question that the train has done an immense amount of good throughout all the western states and

has made many votes for Mr. Hughes and the Republican ticket. The point that specially impressed me Saturday night at Springfield, and which, I believe, has impressed everyone wherever the train has gone, is that all the women on the train, having been engaged in civic and social work, have taken this campaign out of the old time politics and have made it accord with Webster's definition of politics—'the science of government.'"

County Chairman Charles Hebbard, Spokane, Washington, October 13, 1916: "Meeting tonight far beyond expectations. It is the most effective campaign work we have had. Every speech had punch and sincerity and the women carried conviction as no ordinary campaign speech could. Only regret is that we did not fully appreciate value in advance and make larger use of party's time."

Senator Theodore Burton, Ohio, September 25, 1916: "Women are no longer remaining in the background of practical thought and action but are asserting their influence vigorously and especially in regard to the election of Mr. Hughes. The most striking feature of their work is the announcement that a Women's Special Train will tour the country during the month of October from coast to coast, paying visits to over one hundred cities and carrying the message of the necessity for a Republican victory this fall. This transcontinental train with the leading representative women of the country must surely arouse all factions in the electorate of the coming position of women in shaping the country's future political history."

William Lemcke, State Chairman of North Dakota: "Your train has had the best effect of any work that has been done in North Dakota this year. Any statement to the contrary is without foundation and on a level with the misrepresentations during the present campaign. I am satisfied, however, that misrepresentations of this kind will not win the campaign because they are an insult to the intelligence of the people."

Clarence Phelps Dodge, President Hughes Alliance, Colorado Springs, October 30, 1916: "Your day in Colorado Springs of inestimable value to Hughes. Strong, positive evidence that many votes were made and changed for Hughes. Also deep impression made on all citizens of this city by character and achievement and personality of each member of the party of Hughes Special. You also stirred up great enthusiasm in Denver."

Reed Smoot, Glen Miller, Chairman Republican State Committee, C. P. Overfield, President Hughes Alliance, Salt Lake City, October 24, 1916: "The Republican State Committee and the Utah Hughes Alliance extend you greetings and wish to thank the members of your party and you for the time you so graciously gave us during the past week in sympathetic support of our national ticket and the attendant beneficial interests of the entire American people through your visit to Utah and your clear and convincing arguments. You have made many friends."

F. A. Hazelbaker, Secretary State Central Committee, Montana: "Can Mrs. Robins give us six speeches for Hughes between now and election. This will do more to carry Montana for Hughes than any other factor."

Jacob Dunn, President of the Illinois Watch Factory: "About 800 people employed in this establishment heard Mrs. Raymond Robins and greeted her statements on Hughes's stand on labor with much applause."

Mrs. Richard Yates, wife of Ex-Governor of Illinois: "Regret that every woman in Sangamon County could not have been present at the Hughes Alliance meeting. The impression made by the women is most far reaching."

Mrs. Richard Oglesby, wife of Ex-Governor of Illinois: "Feel that the women presented their arguments in a very able and convincing manner."

Senator Logan of Illinois: "The Hughes Alliance women are having a wonderful effect upon their women hearers in turning the tide against Wilson on his slogan 'He kept us out of war.'"

John MacVicar, Mayor, Des Moines, Iowa, October 30, 1916: "The meeting held here by the women of the Hughes Special was probably the most effective political meeting ever held in Des Moines; about five thousand were in attendance and the Republican ticket was greatly helped because of the splendid arguments presented."

Charles A. Rawson, Chairman Republican State Committee, Des Moines, Iowa, October 30, 1916: "The meeting held in Des Moines by the ladies on the Hughes Special was a great success and the speeches were very convincing and I heard lots of active Republican workers say it was best meeting they ever attended. The way the large audience of five thousand people stayed through program showed their interest and this did the Republican ticket a lot of good."

Helen Bullis Kizer, Chairman Hughes Alliance, Spokane, Washington, October 21, 1916: "I want to add my personal testimony as to the great value of the work done by the Women's Committee in this part of the west. In spite of the fact that this is a suffrage state, there is, it seems to me, very much less interest in women as factors in public affairs than there is in the East. The train speakers

were a revelation—nothing less. I have heard man after man comment on the superiority of their method over that of the regular old-line male speaker. Numbers went to hear them merely as a matter of courtesy, out of curiosity, or because they felt it a duty to support the campaign of their party, and came away enthusiastic 'Boosters' of the women both as women and as a political force. Whatever effect the passing of the train may have upon the outcome of the election—and it cannot help but have a favorable one—its most valuable one, it seems to me, will lie in the education it has given both the men and the women of those states remote from the great centers and more or less indifferent to their currents of thought, as to what our grandfathers used to call the 'capacity' of women. Another result of its passing will be its influence on future campaigns; they can scarcely remain as cut-and-dried, as steeped in traditions, as inept, again. You have set a new standard for them."

Charles E. Severude, Chairman Polk County Central Committee, Des Moines, October 30, 1916: "I consider the Hughes Special Meeting held here to be by far the best effective of the campaign work done for the Republican ticket in this campaign. The speeches were effective and convincing. Wish we could have more meetings like it."

Francis R. Batement, St. Peter's Rectory, Helena, Montana: "I will not mention names, for all did so well that might seem invidious. Mrs. Raymond Robins, however, stayed over to an evening meeting which was addressed by Mr. Fairbanks, and her address, which preceded his, was admirable in every way. It was a means of grace to hear her and indeed to hear them all. They avoided all claptrap and set themselves to make a wise, womanly, sensible, warm-hearted appeal to an audience whose good opinion they won from the first."

Irving Howbert Colorado Springs, Colorado, October 30, 1916: "The recent meeting at the Opera House in Colorado Springs where the members of the Hughes Special spoke in behalf of Hughes was a great success and on behalf of the Republicans of Page County I wish to express to you a great appreciation of the splendid service the members of your party tendered Mr. Hughes."

Horace G. Lunt, Colorado Springs, Colorado, October 30, 1916: "We congratulate you upon meetings held here under auspices of Women's Hughes Campaign Train. They were a great stimulus to people of Colorado Springs. The sympathetic and intelligent manner in which the important campaign issues were discussed was a delight to every one. The train has been a great success and has already had a favorable effect upon the Hughes campaign in this section."

Fred R. Jelliff, Editor Republican Register, Galesburg, Illinois, October 30, 1916: "The Hughes Women's Special speakers were last Saturday met with the heartiest sort of a reception and the crowd was so large that it was necessary to hold five separate meetings. The influence of the meetings was pronounced and scores of women who before had been undecided announced their intention of supporting Hughes. All the evidences now are that the women of Galesburg will give Hughes a large vote. The demonstration was the largest political affair ever given by the women of the county."

W. E. Simonds, Dean of Knox College, Galesburg, Illinois, October 30, 1916: "The whole affair was dignified and worthy of the cause. The speeches of Mrs. Nelson O'Shaughnessy and Mrs. Raymond Robins were convincing and eloquent."

C. S. Cockley, Peoria, Illinois, October 30, 1916: "Splendid meeting and fine parade; everybody pleased with speeches."

Professor Tuller, Head of Department of Social Science, Lombard College, Galesburg, Ill., October 30, 1916: "The Hughes Women's Special was greeted by a large and enthusiastic crowd. Many voters voiced their approval of Mrs. Raymond Robins' speech."

Annette B. Fitch, Peoria, Illinois, October 30, 1916: "As Organizer in the 16th Congressional District under Miss Harriet E. Vittum, I assure you that the women on the Hughes Women's Special helped greatly in turning the tide to Hughes in Peoria and the 16th Congressional District."

Valentine Jobst, Peoria, Illinois, October 30, 1916: "I, a lifelong Democrat, have turned my back on my party so far as the national ticket is concerned. With my family rode in the auto parade and listened attentively to the convincing arguments of the speakers of the Women's Hughes Special at Hippodrome at Peoria."

Y. A. Grier, Peoria, Illinois, October 30, 1916: "Great meeting. Best speakers heard during campaign. Everyone enthusiastic."

Alice R. Richards, Peoria, Illinois, October 30, 1916: "Miss Freeman and other women who spoke at meeting of the Hughes Women's Special Saturday afternoon made many votes for Hughes. Of that I have positive knowledge."

Mrs. E. J. Parker; Mrs. E. N. Monroe, Chairman; Mrs. Frank Crane; Mrs. Anna Cottrell, Quincy, Illinois, October 30, 1916: "We feel that the coming of the Hughes Special to Quincy has made at the very least 500 votes for Hughes."

Charles H. Cottrell, Chairman, Quincy, Ill., October 30, 1916: "The Women's Special was given a social reception here Saturday. The Orpheum Theatre was crowded and an overflow meeting was held on the street with one thousand in attendance. The coming of this splendid lot of authors, speakers, and industrial workers has had a decided effect to turn the tide rapidly for Charles E. Hughes."

George A. Stadden, President Franklin Life Insurance Co., Springfield, Ill., October 30, 1916: "The women of the Hughes Train were enthusiastically received. They did untold good to the Republican cause."

III. Editorial Comments on the Hughes Campaign Train

(NOTE: Some of these are Democratic papers.)

Portland, Oregonian, Oct. 8: "These are among the most high-minded and distinguished women of the country. Some are social workers, others are writers, others are prominent in charity and philanthropy, and all are worthy of the confidence and esteem of all classes.

"Every one will recognize among this splendid group some one or more who has rendered service to mankind in some fine way—rendered real service, not merely talked about it.

"Will any one dare say that these noble women who have chosen to become the guests of the National Republican Committee, or of Mrs. Belmont, et al.—whoever they are—are not moved by the purest motives?"

"No one will *say* it, of course, but there is a species of blackguard journalism in Oregon which does not hesitate to insinuate it."

New York, Herald, Oct. 16: "It must be admitted that in some places there has been a lack of that chivalry toward these earnest, thinking women that is supposed to be inherent in Americanism. The effort to make it appear that they are touring the country as a sort of fashion show may seem to democratic politicians 'good politics,' but it is cheap politics. The names of the women in the party, the prominent part they have taken in the promotion of public welfare and their other good works furnish a complete answer to the 'fashion show' slur. The fact that their meetings have been well attended, especially in those states where women vote, shows that instead of being a failure or a mere joke the woman's train is a success."

New York, Globe, Oct. 3: "What it can accomplish in bringing to both men and women throughout the states visited the consciousness of the power of woman, of her full ability to cope with affairs of public interest, of her ability to put personal affairs and personal prejudice behind her, and to work for the public good, is overwhelmingly great. Although these women go out as campaign speakers, it is, after all, as women that the public will be interested in them. They are women who have accomplished much in many walks of life, who are accomplishing much, and will accomplish still more.

"The Women's Campaign Train will go down in history significant, not so much for its value as a campaigning measure but for its potence in showing, as they have never been shown before, women's place and power in modern-day affairs."

Chicago, Herald, Oct. 6: "He would be a churlish person indeed who could fail to give the women of the Hughes train credit for two extremely refreshing qualities in a presidential campaign. We mean both courage and candor.

"When Miss Frances Kellor yesterday stood up before an audience of labor men and expressed her unfavorable opinion of Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, she might not have been playing good politics; she might not have been right as to Mr. Gompers, but she certainly had her courage and her candor in full action.

"By the same token the women are making no attempt whatever to disguise the source of the financing of the woman's special. A statement issued by Mr. Hert, Republican campaign manager for the West, frankly gives the list of lady backers of the enterprise—the list beginning with the name of Mrs. Daniel Guggenheim.

"In brief the women of the special are not trying to travel under false colors, no matter what they may be doing."

Salt Lake, Deseret News: "For the first time in America the work of women in national politics is this year being seriously taken by all the parties, and press and public share in the interest which their earnest entrance into the campaign has aroused. Their enthusiasm is marked by nothing amateurish, spasmodic or timid—on the contrary it partakes of the courage and systematic strategy of the seasoned campaigner.

"By all parties and classes it cannot help but be regarded as a significant and practical expression of women's political co-operation with men from this time henceforth in the selection of the nation's chief officials."

Cleveland, Leader, Oct. 4: "Yesterday a special train came to Cleveland which was devoted to the cause of woman suffrage. It had been paid for and set in motion by women who are eager to obtain the full use of the ballot for their sex. Some of them are very rich. Others have wealthy husbands. But they are working for all of their own sex, for equal rights at the polls, not for any form of business interests or for anything which in any sense involves issues between the rich and the poor.

"The whole effort to ridicule and make obnoxious the women's campaign train was very dirty politics. It was also stupid."

Spokane, Chronicle, Oct. 13: "In Spokane they were accorded a reception due earnest and efficient workers. It was representative of the attitude of the Pacific coast toward the woman politician. In this country she is not made the victim of jests, but is heard and honored for the true value of her ideals."

Chicago, Evening Post, Oct. 6: "Almost every one is of the type of the women who have made their names known, not by being 'billionairesses,' but by working for some intelligent work of social reform.

"It is pretty cheap politics to try to discount the campaigning of such women by unearthing the old bogy of 'Wall Street,' to cry them down."

New York, Times, Oct. 4: "They are earnest, they are able; and in places which Mr. Hughes visited in his 'preliminary campaign' they should be especially welcome, not merely for themselves, but for their contrast with the great movie orator."

Brooklyn, Eagle, Oct. 6: "The Hughes Women's Campaign train ought to proceed over its prearranged itinerary, not deviating a mile therefrom. If the women of the United States, represented by distinguished members of their sex, do not command popular respect it is high time the fact was recognized and admitted."

East St. Louis, Sun, Oct. 19: "Although the Democratic national committee has done everything possible to discredit the women campaigners, they are having phenomenal meetings everywhere. Attempts to break up their audiences with counter demonstrations have failed in every instance."

Portland, Oregonian, Oct. 15: "The visiting women bore themselves with modesty and dignity. They asked to be heard, and for the most part they were heard. There is no wall of narrow provincialism about Oregon that would exclude from the forum of local discussion reputable voices from any other state or nation. But apprehensive and fearsome agents of the Wilson campaign have sought to raise it. They have failed, of course. Their tactics in their calumnious attacks upon the visitors before their coming, and their scheme of rowdyism and riot after their arrival have cost their cause many votes."

Denver, News, Oct. 9: "The net result is good. It helps toward the effect which Miss Kellor aims to produce. It gives the rather reluctant old-line politician a feeling that he does not need to worry so much about woman campaigners as he had feared. It teaches him that women organized politically can be a self-supporting body, standing firmly on their own feet; that they are, in other words, a clear asset instead of a semi-liability.

"By this proof the women justify Mr. Hughes in his declaration that women should be given full suffrage in the United States, directly and at once.

Kewanee, Courier, Oct. 9: "The women of the Hughes special train, which recently passed through Illinois, are following what for want of a better term may be called 'intelligent politics.' They are all women with sincere convictions in regard to who ought to be the next president, just as usually men orators are sincere in their convictions in regard to the political needs of the country. They differ in method with some stump speakers, in that they appeal to the intelligence of their audience and succeed, in large measure, in escaping the beaten path of misconstruing the statements of the opposition, on the one hand, and, on the other, of substituting abuse for reason.

"The Davenport Times, which knows the facts because the special stopped in Iowa cities, says these women demonstrated their ability also by the systematic planning of a program, their adherence to a strict schedule and their ample provision for publicity. They not only knew what they were trying to do and why, but they knew how to do it.

"It is significant of better things that women thus are taking an interest in affairs that are more than local. They are setting a higher standard for the political meeting. They are making it more difficult for the old time stump speaker who, after being 'delighted to see so many here to-day,' recited trite arguments, appealed to partisan prejudice and closed with a few words about 'the old flag.' The stump speakers who follow where these women have been will have to talk facts and present the facts in an entertaining way if they wish to get a hearing."

Portland, Evening Telegram, Oct. 14: "It is largely a matter of sour grapes. If the Democrats had thought of it first it would have been a heaven-born idea. Portland will nevertheless receive these

women with respect and consideration and make their welcome all the warmer because of the insults to which they have been subjected by their jealous rivals."

Philadelphia, Ledger, Oct. 30: "Large assemblages listened with respect to addresses that transcended politics and enkindled patriotism, in a lucid and effectual presentation of the reasons why Mr. Hughes should be chosen to succeed a presidency of garrulous vacillation. The cause has been brought to the factories when the workers were unable to attend the meetings. All sorts and conditions of persons have been reached. The right of the public at large to complete and candid information has been recognized. The tour of the train has been a triumphant progress. The election of Mr. Hughes will owe much to the praiseworthy and persistent effort of the women who undertook this country-wide campaign of education in his behalf."

East St. Louis, Sun, Oct. 17: "An unexpected development of the fight is the coolness and good nature with which the women have received the Democratic attacks. Not once have they lost their heads; not once have they been diverted from the main issue—the election of Justice Hughes."

Salem, Statesman, Oct. 15: "They have a real, vital message, and they are in earnest in their support of Charles Evans Hughes, as they know he represents the highest ideals of Americanism, and that he will cause the United States to stand four square to all the world in the trying times ahead of this nation, both in its individual capacity as such, and as a member of the great family of nations. The Hughes special is great, and it carries great women giving forth great ideas and a vital message. Not one who heard the women at the Grand opera house last night will disagree with these words."

Milwaukee, Evening Wisconsin, Oct. 19: "Even the most hardened reporter of political meetings has been surprised, if not delighted, by the freshness of phrase, wit and logic of the speeches made this week by the women orators. After the eagle-screeching of the average male spellbinder the effect was calming and much more telling."

Culbertson, Montana, Searchlight, Oct. 21: "Outside the Democratic bullyragging, wherever the Hughes women have appeared, they have drawn large thinking audiences; they have received close attention and their arguments have been followed closely. Montana women are deeply concerned in this campaign, for the reason that upon the result of November 7th depends the welfare of their homes for the next four years.

"As a matter of fact, the Hughes special bears a party of wage earning women, women who work with their brains—an example the Democratic editors would be wise to emulate—and who at great financial loss to themselves, at great personal discomfort and by numerous other sacrifices have undertaken, the long transcontinental swing solely because they believe the election of Mr. Hughes tends to the general prosperity of the country, which means the prosperity of the home and family."

Cincinnati, Star, Oct. 25: "The truth is that most of the women on board the Campaign Train are wage-earners who are unselfishly giving their time and effort to a cause they believe just. But the most ridiculous charge is that these women campaigners are traveling in the greatest luxury. A few months ago great remonstrance was caused by the fact that the Government had sent troops to the border in day coaches, not in Pullmans. Now it is objected that women are traveling in Pullmans for campaign purposes. For that is all the Women's Campaign Train consists of, plain Pullmans of the commonest sleeping car variety."

Salt Lake, News, Oct. 23: "Never before in American politics have the women of the nation taken so active and aggressive a part as in the campaign now drawing to a close; and never before in the world has there been an incident so unique and spectacular in women's political activity as the campaign special train which has been on tour of the nation and is now in this city.

"One enduring lesson, at least, may be drawn from the incident—and that is that women's power and influence will never again be relegated to the inferior and inconsequential place in national affairs heretofore assigned to them. The sex has shown itself abundantly able to assert and maintain its rights, and fully competent to exercise all the rights of citizenship hitherto withheld.

"Their energy and courage are admirable, and their earnestness and ability are anew demonstrated at every place where the train stops.

"Probably not all who meet and greet the fair visitors will vote for the particular candidate whom they are supporting, but none can fail to be impressed by their sincerity and their skill. Certainly they constitute an ally for whose aid any cause should be grateful; and even the most self-confident candidate can well feel that he would rather have them with him than against him."

Waterloo, Courier, Oct. 14: "There are many perplexing social and human problems that under the complexity of twentieth century life cannot be adequately handled any longer by mere state legisla-

tion, and these women, who are versed in these questions, want to see a man in the president's chair who will handle them from the viewpoint of nationalism instead of the outgrown and outworn doctrine of state's rights.

"Here is the secret of the women's campaign special and of the ardor of its speakers for Hughes."

San Francisco, Chronicle: "All of the women Hughes committee but two earn their livelihood by their own hands and brains. They are women distinguished by their work in human service, and especially for the better interests of women.

Portland, Oregonian, Oct. 13: "It is well to inquire of envious and contemptuous Democratic critics what they think of the above list? Are these women the minions and tools of Wall Street? Are they engaged in a nefarious scheme to deceive the public by giving proper credentials to sundry luxurious creatures, who are said (falsely) to be coming to Oregon to tell the intelligent and independent people of this state how to vote?

"Or are they preparing reception and entertainment for brave, strong and good women who have done noble service for humanity in various lines of endeavor and are coming as free Americans to discuss issues of moment with other Americans?"

Des Moines, Tribune, Oct. 24: "The importance of the continent-wide tour being made by the women of the Hughes special is not limited to suffrage states, and it has been recognized by the Democrats, as witness the herculean efforts to discredit the party.

"Nearly every woman on this special train earns her own living and has risen to a place of public importance through her own unaided efforts yet as soon as the train started west, the Wilson campaign managers sought to place the stigma of wealth upon it.

"The women who are coming to Des Moines next Thursday are real campaigners, and they will give sound arguments for the election of Hughes."

Oakland, Tribune, Oct. 18: "The composition of the Women's Hughes Traveling Campaign Committee is significant proof of the general and deep interest women of every walk of life are taking in the present campaign. Most conspicuous in the personnel of the 'flying squadron' are women whose life work has brought them to an intimate understanding of the handicaps under which their sex is living, who can speak from experience and whose cry for the rights of womanhood is sincere in spirit and honest in purpose."

Waterbury, American, Oct. 5: "We will trust this group of capable women to give a good account of themselves. There are enough of them so that no one need speak more than once a day or once in two or three days, if it is necessary to rest and recover from hoarseness. It is a good sign that women of both sides in the suffrage fight can forget their differences and fight together for a common political cause."

New York, Tribune, Oct. 4: "And such a matter-of-fact proceeding as the women's tour for Hughes is a tiny log showing how fast the stream flows. Twenty-five years from now we shall probably be wondering why society ever was dunce enough to do what it did—to shut out from its most important concerns one whole half of the human race and that the most interesting. Naturally, politics has been dull. What exclusively masculine affair is not!"

St. Paul, Pioneer-Press, Oct. 7: "St. Paul will welcome these distinguished women rather in the capacity of advance agents of a political condition unquestionably inevitable than as exponents of the success of any particular equality than are interested in the political fortunes of any presidential candidate. All will be gallant enough to doff their hats to this feminine skirmish line even though some may oppose its purpose and others dislike the means chosen to promote that purpose. They are women visitors; and that is sufficient."

North Bedford, Standard, Sept. 29: "But forgetting, if that is possible, that the women's impersonal-as-to-suffrage movement is chiefly concerned to win Mr. Hughes' election in the interest of strength for a federal woman-suffrage law, one is fain to admire its pluck and its zeal—and its artfulness that is worthy to be known as artistry."

Philadelphia, Press, Oct. 5: "An entirely new feature in this Presidential canvass is the organization of women for campaign work.

"Their trans-continental campaign should both increase the number of male equal suffragists and gain votes where they are needed for Hughes and Fairbanks."

Baltimore, American, Oct. 5: "A decade or two hence the women will be doing the real work of brains and hustling in political campaigns, with issues that center not in any one department of interest such as they are now drawn to. And the prospect is interesting as viewed through the vistas of the first delegation of women definitely to take the stump. The Republican party is first in this departure."

New York, Times, Oct. 6 (*Wilson supporter*): "Compared to the common or garden spellbinder, they are, of course, notably pleasing spectacles, their speeches are

well up to the ordinary campaign standard, and they have shown courage and good temper in situations that must have been distinctly trying. The only plausible explanation is a widely pervasive inclination to resent the intrusion of women as active and audible participants in an important election."

St. Joseph, Gazette, Oct. 29: "If the ratio of workers found in the 'Hughes special' is to be maintained in all future participation by the feminine sex in politics, another menace to male supremacy in this field is presented. For when women everywhere shall vote, they will not look with approval upon vagrant men delving into the science of government while femininity does the same thing and holds down a paying position as well. There will surely result such a reforming of present methods as usually follows a woman's determination that the man who doesn't work shall not show up at mealtime."

Butte, Post, Oct. 18: "The women whom the democratic campaigners slur are, to say the least, consistent and logical as well as earnest in their course when they prefer Hughes for the presidency. And it is prevailing belief, as election day gets nearer, that their preference will have much to do with the election of Hughes."

Bismarck, Tribune, Oct. 8 (*Wilson supporter*): "The object of the 'Hughes Special' is to promote the candidacy of Charles Evans Hughes. This is its sole business.

"Members of the party have national reputations as social welfare workers. They believe that the election of Hughes will do more to advance the principles for which they stand than Wilson.

"Turn out and hear them."

New York, Globe, November 20: "The Publicity Bureau of the Democratic National Committee is pluming itself on what it regards as an enterprising and meritorious piece of work during the recent campaign—namely, the successfull misrepresentation of the women's train.

"It is asserted that the accessions that came to the President from the 'bonehead' proceedings that irritated the Progressives, and from the successful wooing of the Mormon vote, and from creating the false idea that a compulsory wage increase act was an eight-hour act —that all these things, though each was essential to the result, would not have been enough except the women of the west had been persuaded that a bunch of millionaire women sought to instruct them.

"When the women's special started, a description of it as a train de luxe was sent out, the public is informed, to 7,000 newspapers. The members of the party were pictured as diamond-bedecked, fur-wearing women, who were out seeking diversion. In the way of 'follow-ups' stories were sent out of complaints made because local committees did not load their cars with candy and flowers. It was said that before going to calls they were accustomed to ask whether the occasion was one when rings were to be worn in or out. Preposterous reports were circulated as to the estimated wealth of the women in the party, and one of them was quoted as saying it was not true they were all rich—that 'there were several among us who haven't over $50,000 a year.'

"Of course, this was all invention, and is now confessed. But it is gleefully said that the trick worked; that when one of the campaigners appeared in an old and dingy dress the crowd was told: 'See how these rich women are trying to fool you,' and when their garb was better, 'See how these rich women are trying to patronize you.' Vance McCormick, not unacquainted with Yale's 'gold coast,' must feel proud of the labors done under his direction—must feel especially proud of the boasting now being indulged in.

"Mr. McCormick's young men overestimated their astuteness. It is highly improbable that any considerable number of women were deceived by the 'golden special' nonsense. At a few places headliners were stimulated into activity, but the great body of women, although new in politics, were sufficiently intelligent not to be caught by such old stuff."

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